PREFACE

THE term Bella Coola can be applied to the Indians who 101.
formerly occupied more than twenty villages on the lower
Bella Coola River in central British Columbia, to their near
kinsfolk on the Kimsquit River, and to those living at the head
of South Bentinck Arm. Disease and changed conditions con-
sequent upon the coming of the white man have so reduced [177]
their numbers that the last two groups of settlements have
been virtually abandoned, while only one village remains in
the Bella Coola valley. This is located on a reserve near the [161]
mouth of the river, and its four hundred inhabitants comprise
practically all the survivors of what was once a tribe of several
thousand people, with a distinctive language and culture of
their own.

The material contained in this monograph was collected in 114
this one village many years ago for the National Museum of
Canada.[1] I was in the field during two periods that extended
from March to August, 1922, and from September, 1923, to
February, 1924. My field notes were worked up and the com- 128
pleted manuscript submitted to the Museum in 1926. Since
that time it has suffered various vicissitudes. Recommended
for publication by the Chief of the Anthropological Division,
it passed through the hands of various editors; questions were
raised about its size and the suitability of detailed studies of
social anthropology in a government publication, and by the
time these matters were adjusted, funds for extensive publi-
cations were unavailable and the manuscript was put aside.
Since the aim of the investigation was to record, as far as pos- [121]
sible, the sum-total of the complex and interwoven social life
of the Bella Coola, I did not think it desirable to prepare short
articles[2] summarizing different aspects, preferring to await an

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[1] Then the Victoria Memorial Museum.

[2] The only exception was a short article on Bella Coola supernatural animals published in the Ontario Annual Archaeological Report for 1924-25, pp. 17-27.

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kenzie, making his memorable overland trip to the Pacific, 173
records coming upon Indian villages at every few miles of his 361
course. Boas describes the way in which the inhabitants of 175
each of these claim to be descended from one group of ancestors.

Though it is impossible to estimate the former population 161
of the Bella Coola valley with any degree of accuracy, it must have been in the thousands. In 1922 there were surviving rather more than three hundred individuals, who live in one village on an Indian reserve near the north bank of the Bella Coola River, about a quarter of a mile from the sea. In the last century the tribe was stricken with smallpox, and since then consumption, [164]
venereal disease, measles, and other diseases of the white man [177]
have taken their deadly toll. [182] Changed conditions of life and decay of the rich ceremonial around which centred their interests in the old days are also contributory factors in their decline. Within the last few years, however, the population has begun to increase.

Bella Coola Villages

The following list of Bella Coola villages was obtained. 361
In an effort to learn which had been deserted in recent years, [124]
the writer always asked whether or not a town was occupied
at the time of Mackenzie's visit, [175] an event of such great interest to the grandparents of the older people that the memory of it is still preserved. Villages said to have been occupied at that time are marked with an asterisk.

Three rivers empty into the head of South Bentinck Arm, 133
which is about one mile in width (see Plate 7). The Bella Coola, flowing from the east, enters at the southern edge, and the *Nulqotskwan-e* winds in from the north to the opposite angle of the head of the fiord. This stream, "The Nearest [103]
River" of the Bella Coola, so-called because of its proximity to the sea, is shown on maps as the Necleetsconnay. Between the mouths of these two is the *Pe-slo*, a small stream rising

133 484 the neighbouring Carriers, but Chilkotin as well sometimes descended to the valley. [648] [501] On the coast, though the dense underbrush prevented travel along the shore, the long fiords, sheltered from the open Pacific, were ideal for the use of canoes.[16] Comparatively lengthy journeys were neither difficult nor uncommon. 648 The *Tāl·io* people were usually on amicable terms with the inhabitants of Rivers Inlet, and the Kimsquit with the Kitlobe. The Bella Coola were accustomed to attend [574] potlatches at Alert Bay and Fort Rupert,[17] Knight's Inlet, and Bute Inlet, receiving their hosts, in turn, at Bella Coola. On the other hand, there was little friendly intercourse with the northern tribes, of which the Kitkatla especially were dreaded by the residents of the central coast. Until recent years the Bella Coola had no direct knowledge of other Salish-speaking peoples, although some of the Chilkotin told them of a tribe living far to the south, in the interior, whom they encountered in some of their wanderings and used to term *Nuṣálkums*, recognizing the similarity between their language and that of the [197] Bella Coola. [871] A few years ago several Bella Coola attended a boarding-school and were amazed to find that many of their words were understood by fellow-students from Chilliwack.

648 177 To sum up: The Bella Coola were in close contact with the neighbouring coastal tribes, with the members of which they felt themselves to have cultural affinities. They recognize that they have received many ceremonial rites from their neighbours, and must have adopted other elements of culture which they now consider indigenous. It is probable that certain Bella Coola customs must likewise have been transmitted to other tribes, but such lie without the scope of this monograph. The outlying villages were in close contact with foreign neighbours, and tended to assimilate elements of their culture, [101] but, on the whole, the Bella Coola present a tribal unity with distinctive local customs, falling within the general pattern of coastal culture.

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[16] For types of canoes, see Appendix A.
[17] The principal Kwakiutl villages.

CHAPTER II

RELIGION

The Universe—Supernatural Beings—Supernatural Elements in Human Beings—Means of Propitiation

THE UNIVERSE

ONE of the subjects about which Bella Coola philosophers 772 pondered in former times, and about which definite information has come down to the present generation, is the universe. The young people, who have absorbed a certain [177] amount of education from the white man, are scornful of the beliefs of their fathers, but it was possible to obtain the following information from a few of the older men and women.

They say that the earth is circular and flat, like an island. What it rests upon is problematical, though the assumption is that it is water. The world is kept from capsizing by the [776] supernatural being, *Sninia*, who lives amid the ice in the far north; he grasps a rope to which the earth is fastened, and he keeps it steady by maintaining a tension on the rope to hold the world against his feet. Long, long ago *Sninia* was seen by human beings, but in later years no one has penetrated to his distant home and the Bella Coola have little regard for him. It was in the distant past, also, that human beings discovered the earth to be round, after certain semi-supernatural men had made a circuit of it. The four corners of space have not the same importance to the Bella Coola as they have, for example, to the Indians of the Plains. It is only through questioning that the investigator learns [823] that the East is regarded as the top of the world, the South is the sun at its zenith, the West is the bottom, and the North is nothing, merely the opposite to the south. These beliefs play little part in the lives of the people.

Above our earth stretches an inverted dome, its edges resting on those of the world. This dome, the sky, is called

cannot be considered as distinct subjects; not only does this 128
present difficulties to the investigator in the field, but it also 771
makes it no easy task to describe the facts so obtained. With many tribes it is possible to deal first with the social life, and later with religion, shamanism, and other associated topics. Such a form of presentation has many advantages and would, if possible, have been followed. Unfortunately, the social organization and rank of the Bella Coola largely depend upon their religious beliefs as expressed in their mythology, and an understanding of at least the main features of these is essential. In this chapter a summary of these has been made, leaving for later description personal relations with the supernatural world and other points which do not profoundly influence the beliefs and practices of the whole community.

Like other peoples, the Bella Coola differ considerably in 771
the fervour of their religious beliefs. But even allowing for individual variation, religious experiences and beliefs are matters of frequent occurrence and profound importance to the great majority of the tribe. The supernatural world is close around them; a sudden thought is caused by the intervention of a supernatural being; the peculiar action of an animal is an occurrence fraught with grave meaning; an unexplained sound always receives a supernatural explanation.
The old beliefs survive even among members of the community 177
who are nominal Christians, and those who hold to their ancient 771
religion live in an atmosphere of the supernatural. The white man, whose scientific training and logic lead him to find a natural explanation for an incident, is puzzled and somewhat amused at what he often calls the childish beliefs of the Indian. The Bella Coola, on the other hand, seeing the hand of the supernatural in every untoward event, considers the attitude of the white man in seeking a natural explanation to be almost irreverent. The mental attitude of the Bella Coola to the supernatural does not differ vitally from that of the white man under like conditions; but whereas to white man religious experiences are most unusual, they are common occurrences to

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the Indian. A native convert, for example, finds no difficulty in understanding the Old Testament, for the frequent manifestations of the supernatural are like those to which he has been accustomed. One intelligent Indian went so far as to say that he was a better Christian than any white man because he believed every word in the Old Testament, while he had heard that white men doubted the historical accuracy of some of the stories there recorded.

The following incident illustrates rather clearly the attitude of the Bella Coola towards the supernatural. A few years ago a party, consisting of a number of Indians and one white man, was proceeding by canoe up Dean Channel. On the shore, some distance ahead of them, they saw what seemed to be a grizzly bear with its pelt showing the white sheen so much desired by hunters. Hoping for a shot at the animal, they paddled in behind a long point which offered a hidden means of approach. But as the canoe cautiously rounded the tip, within easy rifle range, all that could be seen was a white water-washed stump, somewhat resembling a bear in shape. To the white man it was obvious that they had all been deceived by this resemblance in the distance, but to the Bella Coola it was equally obvious that the bear had changed into a stump. A bear had been there, they had seen it, now there was a stump: "The bear must have changed itself," they said.

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If the reader grasps the mental attitude which explains an optical illusion as a manifestation of the supernatural, he will be able to comprehend the important part played by supernatural beings in the lives of the Bella Coola. Creatures of this type, some anthropomorphic and others zoomorphic, range not only the mountains and forests of British Columbia, but also the waters beneath and the sky above. Their true home is on the flat country above the sky; most of them are merely visitors to this world. Supernatural beings of all kinds are termed *siut*. The attitude of Indians towards them, and their concepts concerning them, can best be understood by the stories in vol. I, chap. x, and vol. II, chap. v. Bella Coola beliefs are

775 hanging a number of bird and animal cloaks, representing ravens, eagles, whales, grizzly bears, black bears, and a few others. *Alquntäm* asked each individual which of these cloaks he preferred to wear. One selected a raven, another an eagle, and so on. Each donned his choice from the wall and immediately became the bird or animal chosen. *Alquntäm* gave each man or woman one or more names, and some food in compressed form; then sent him down in avian or mammal form. Even the animals could travel through the air like birds, and each landed on the peak of a mountain in the Bella Coola country, took off his cloak, and reassumed human form. The discarded coverings floated back up to *Nusmät·a*. A few individuals, instead of coming to earth in animal form, swarmed down posts which stretched between the worlds.

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773 This myth is fervently believed by the Bella Coola. Even Christian Indians, though they readily admit the biblical creation as applied to the white race, remain convinced of the manner in which their own ancestors came into being. At the present time, though most ancient beliefs are rapidly passing away, few, if any, Bella Coola doubt this account of the creation of their forefathers. Their conviction rests not only on the religious aspect of their life, but on the sociological. A man's
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424] most treasured possessions are the name brought down from above by his ancestor in the beginning of time, the knowledge of the form taken by that ancestor, and information about the place where he landed. A collection of myths of this kind is given in vol. I, chap. VI. Lacking knowledge of his first an-
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561] cestor's form, a Bella Coola has slight chance of becoming a chief; such lore is the birthright of every descendant of one of these first people, and those without it are almost certain to be the offspring of slaves. The social aspects of creation myths will be described later; at this point a broad outline must suffice. *Nusmät·a*, "The House of Myths," is the place in which these myths were made, and are now stored, two reasons for its importance in the eyes of the Bella Coola.

[775] *Nusmät·a* is not only connected with the history of an indi-

vidual's ancestors; it enters into his own future as well. When a Bella Coola dies, his spirit (I, p. 94) travels back on the path of his ancestors from generation to generation until it reaches the spot where the first one came to earth; there it assumes the bird or animal cloak used on that occasion and floats aloft to *Nusmāt·a* to live forever. Small wonder, therefore, that this house figures prominently in the thoughts of the Bella Coola, and that they cling tenaciously to a belief in it. 777 773 775

Knowledge of *Nusmāt·a* has been inherited almost entirely from the first ancestors of the Bella Coola, and only a few items of information could be gleaned concerning it. Most men think of it as an enormous replica of their own houses, but one individual, of philosophic temperament, expressed the opinion that it was without any inner partitions. His belief was based on the following incident: 772

> Some years ago a young man died without apparent reason. His sorrowing father kept wondering: 772 787
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> "Why has my son died? Can he have committed some crime or made some mistake?"
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> Despondent and grief-stricken, for a whole year the man did not wash, ate little, and slept on the floor. At last he wandered away, alone, into the mountains. Night overtook him and he lay down to sleep without food. His son came to him in a dream, telling him not to lament, that he was in a better place than this world, for *Ālquntām* had recalled him to *Nusmāt·a* to use his voice, which was unusually powerful, as a means of conveying his wishes to the other occupants of the house. Thus comforted, the father returned home in the morning, washed, and again behaved normally. My informant suggested that cross walls would be a bar to the strongest voice, and that *Nusmāt·a* must consequently be partitionless.

Nusmāt·a contains not only the spirits of all deceased Bella Coola, it is also the home of most of the supernatural beings. These frequently descend to visit the earth, but always return to the house above. So far as could be learnt, the only being irremovably located there is an old woman, *Snulqulx̣āls*. The most prominent article of furniture in *Nusmāt·a* is *Ālquntām*'s seat, in the central position behind the fire. Over it is laid 772 776 * [775]

* 776 is in the upper Bella Coola valley near Firvale, cause cold
773 breezes by blowing them through their anuses. *uxlaxwan·i* es-
[821] pecially is a prominent figure in mythology (I, p. 670), but she
has not appeared for many generations and her actions belong
to legend rather than to either religion or social practices.
It is said that she has four sons who once wanted to break a
large number of grass stalks. Finding it difficult to do so on
account of their toughness, they asked their mother to freeze
them; she did this and destroyed every other plant at the same
time.

* 776 Another anthropomorphic being is *Sxk'lätl*, the super-
821 natural South Wind of winter who brings storm and snow.
The Carriers affirm that every icicle which grows down until
● 177 its end is in the snow is his walking-stick, and that to break
[731] one causes famine. Some Bella Coola have adopted this be-
lief and carefully refrain from destroying such icicles.

* 776 Supernatural beings experience the same difficulty as mortals in reckoning the passage of time. A number of calendrical experts live in the land above, whose duty it is to record both months and years. They are called *Ālmʌnskällwaiyaix* or
[575] *Ālmʌnskitlnʌm*. They have been seen occasionally, and are
shown, as masked figures, at *sʌsaok* (I, p. 180), but not at *kusiut*
dances. Two of these beings always appear, and they argue about their observations after the fashion of humans.

Another denizen of *Nusmät·a* of slight importance in the social life of the Bella Coola is *Xemxemälotla*, a friend and
[575] associate of *Ālquntäm*. He acts as patron of *kusiut* dancers,
and in this manner is brought to the notice of mortals. In the land above his function is to cherish *Tlaqmä·ks*, a being resembling a diminutive man, created by *Ālquntäm* as a child to all supernatural beings. *Xemxemälotla* is its guardian or nurse; and for safety he usually keeps his charge in the far distant upper land above *Nusmät·a*, where *Ālquntäm* frequently visits
[777] the two. In some mysterious manner, *Tlaqmä·ks* has been
known to reach this earth, giving good fortune to the lucky
finder. He is in many cases spoken of as "The Cherished

* 776 761 [756] of his disguises. For example, he once appeared at New Westminster in the form of a handsome white man; a Bella Coola girl yielded to his pleadings, but as soon as he had left her, she began to bleed and died.[11] He is so evil that shamans can rarely cure anyone visited by him. *Sxaiaxwax* usually carries a stick which he need only to point at a woman to cause her death.

Nor are men exempt from *Sxaiaxwax*'s visitations. Sometimes he sneaks up behind a man and seizes his arms, so that he cannot see who has gripped him. He is soon released but no matter how quickly he turns around can never see his captor. Presently he begins to bleed from mouth and nose and death follows. *Sxaiaxwax* may become visible under such conditions. One old man stated that his son had once been playing outside the village at Kimsquit when he rushed into the house weeping and saying that he had been seized by a black-faced man. In a few minutes his nose began to bleed so that his father knew it was *Sxaiaxwax* who had visited him. Nothing was of any avail and the lad died. His approach is usually heralded by a series of grunting, explosive puffs, like those of a big bear rising sulkily. If, warned by the sound, the hearer turn sharply, he can escape danger. An informant described how, when camped on Labouchere Channel, he had once gone to the river for water with two companions, a man and a woman. They all heard these gasping puffs and turned, but he alone had jumped from the path quickly enough. The other two began to pant like *Sxaiaxwax* himself; blood gushed from their mouths and genital organs and they soon died.

Like other supernatural beings, *Sxaiaxwax* has his limitations. Though he comes to this earth he can travel only on fixed paths, invisible to mortals. If either a man or a woman is unfortunate enough to fall asleep on one of these tracks, it is

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● [177] [11] A curious blending of aboriginal and white man's beliefs was recorded in connection with this incident. It is said that as the girl's seducer left her, carrying his hat in his hand, she saw two horns rising from his forehead and realized that her lover had been *Sxaiaxwax*.

including the dreaded point, Mesatche Nose, in human form. As each came in, water swirled in and the canoe was tossed as if in a whirlpool; if it had capsized the occupants would have been devoured, but on each occasion one of the hunters threw a morsel of false hellebore on the surface, which stilled the waves. At last *Q̣omoqwa* and his friends admitted defeat, granted the four fishermen the powers of shamans, and gave them certain prerogatives. 539 776*

Though *Q̣omoqwa* is usually unkind to mortals, and is correspondingly feared, instances are known in which he has bestowed shamanistic powers for no apparent reason. The Bella Coola say that the Bella Bella know more about *Q̣omoqwa* than they do, since he is essentially an ocean being and the Bella Bella are ocean people. It is possible that the Bella Coola concepts of this supernatural personage are entirely of Bella Bella origin. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that *Q̣omoqwa* seldom appears in connection with the *kusiut* society, but frequently with the *sısaok* society, many of the rites of which came from Bella Bella. [756] 177● 776* [575]

Since human beings can travel on the sea only by means of canoes, it is not surprising that the Bella Coola think of supernatural beings as doing likewise. Their beliefs include at least three huge canoes, manned by supernatural beings. The most important is that of *Noākx̣nɪm*,[16] the name of its captain, whose crew consists of a number of supernatural birds and the hermaphrodite. Every year they come from the lands of the salmon and the berries, in the far west beyond the sea, and bear these to the coast of British Columbia. This belief, which runs counter to the conviction that *Ālquntām* caused the animals and plants to grow, is merely one of the many inconsistencies of Bella Coola theology. *Noākx̣nɪm* comes every autumn on his way to attend the gathering of the supernatural beings in the land above, and his arrival in the Bella Coola River marks the commencement of the *kusiut* dances. He is one of the most important of *kusiut* patrons and his powers and functions are described in the chapter devoted to that 773 776* [575]

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[16] Cf. Boas, p. 40.

775 walk backwards, or on their heads. Mortals sometimes see
ghosts, but the apparition seals their lips so that they cannot
[761] recount their experiences. Death invariably follows. Shamans
[756] and other mortals endowed with great powers have been able
to penetrate to the realm below, and the knowledge of condi-
tions there has been derived from their accounts. Food is
scarce in that land and ghosts are often driven up to earth to
264 search for it. Even a small morsel is enough to satisfy their
hunger, so that mortals throw fragments on the fire for the
775 benefit of their dead relatives. If a person drop a crumb it is
because a ghost has hooked it away from his hand; no wise
Bella Coola ever picks up such a morsel, knowing that to do
so would offend the hungry spectre. Deceased beings are
775 generally feared, although instances are known in which they
have shown kindness, particularly to their relatives. Like so
[575] many supernatural beings, they figure most prominently as
patrons of *kusiut* dancers (see vol. II, chap. 1). Further infor-
mation concerning them is contained in the description of life
after death.

* 776 Not even a complete list of beings would exhaust the
●177 beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the supernatural, since
any unexpected visitation is attributed by them to this source.
For example, when Mackenzie appeared, the first white man
with whom the Bella Coola had come in contact, they thought
that he must be from another world. Some thought him a
dead man returned to life, and others considered him a super-
natural visitor from above who had fallen down to earth, as
did their first ancestors. The latter view prevailed, and it was
ultimately decided that he must be *Qomcua*, a supernatural
being resident aloft of whom little was known. This name was
applied to him, and it has since been given to all white men.[18]

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[18] Although it was in 1793 that Mackenzie passed down the Bella Coola valley, a number of stories of that event were still remembered in 1922. What most impressed the Bella Coola was his ability to make fire quickly. One man, now living, stated that he had heard from his mother that her father had spoken with him. Traditions of this type are valuable as reflecting the interests of a people, but their historical accuracy may well be doubted. One Kimsquit man, for example,

The religious concepts of the Bella Coola are not limited 771
to explanations of strange apparitions, nor to knowledge of a 776*
wide range of supernatural beings, anthropomorphic or zoomorphic.
Many in whom they believe are invisible and intangible, though none the less potent. Almost every incident of life is attributed to the help or hindrance of a supernatural agency. If a fisherman constructs a salmon-weir, with a
considerable amount of work, the Bella Coola ascribe his success [226]
to the assistance of some supernatural being or supernormal power; mere labour would never have sufficed. If a
man has phenomenal success in hunting, it is because the [224]
supernatural has helped him in some way. It is not necessary that an anthropomorphic being should appear; they seldom do, but none deny that in some form or another supernatural ones have aided the enterprise.

This attitude is clearly evident in Bella Coola beliefs 396
concerning the construction of canoes. Many professions 776*
depend upon prerogatives without which a person cannot
hope to succeed. This is not true of canoe-makers, although [463]
it is a great advantage to one of them if *Yulätimut*, the Master Carpenter, appeared to his ancestors in the beginning of time. Even without this in many cases a man can succeed in making a canoe if he is aided by a supernatural teacher, or Model Maker. No one knows much about this being, nor even whether there is more than one of them, but it is through his kindly intervention that a man is able to complete his complicated task. If carpenters who have left a half-finished canoe in the woods, hear adze beats, as they are returning to it, they remain away from the spot, knowing that their work is being done with superhuman efficiency by a supernatural artisan. Under such circumstances even a solitary man can construct one of the large, ocean-going canoes. About 1880 an expert carpenter, named *Yelxhn*, was making

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stated definitely that his mother had told him Mackenzie came down the Dean
River when her uncle was a young man. As if to confirm this statement he added 776*
the inconsequential detail that Mackenzie, in dire straits for food, killed and ate a 177
dog, and that he was given a marmot-skin blanket.

539 *776 watch without being seen. The creature acted as if frightened; it kept looking backwards, then hurriedly scraped up some clams with its forepaws, dashed off with these into the forest, and came back for more. The chief decided to attack the animal. A frontal approach was impossible owing to lack of cover, so he landed and crept stealthily through the forest, armed with his Hudson's Bay Company's musket. Presently he stumbled upon a heap of clams which the animal had collected. He waited until it returned with another load, then raised his musket and fired. Instead of killing the *boq̣s*, its supernatural power was so great that the hunter's musket burst in his hands, though he himself was not injured. The *boq̣s* shrieked and whistled as if in anger, and at once hordes of its mates came dashing out through the forest. The frightened chief rushed out on the beach and called to his comrades to save him. They brought the canoe close to the shore so that he could clamber aboard, and then paddled away unharmed.

● 177 *776 539 The Bella Coola believe that *boq̣s*, unlike most supernatural animals, have not abandoned the country since the coming of the white man. One man was most insistent that they still lived on King Island, and promised to point one out if a visit were made to that spot. This man refuses to camp at the place where, he affirmed, *boq̣s* are common. Another informant stated that though he had never seen one of the monsters, a horde of them surrounded his camp near Canoe Crossing for a week. Every night he heard them roaring and beating on trees and branches. A curious blending of old and new beliefs was recorded in connection with this statement. This man remarked that he was once gathering firewood when he heard the creatures closing in upon him. His head swam with terror, until he remembered that he was a Christian; he called on Jesus to help him, grasped his axe, and dashed towards the place from which the loudest sounds were coming. He heard the animals moving off all round him, but failed to see any of them.

773 that tally posts have mentality, and suggested that it might
777 be these which attend the gathering of the supernatural beings
at the winter solstice instead of an element from the human
body itself.

One elderly Bella Coola, of philosophical temperament,
described *ꝗwatłnusta* in terms far removed from the accounts
of tally posts. According to him, every individual receives
this supernatural possession at birth, and it remains with him,
in close association with his body, throughout life. It stays
in front of his face, invisible, yet having substance, and
[431] constantly shaking from side to side. If a man fails to receive a
present at a potlatch, it is because his *ꝗwatłnusta* has ceased
[828] to move. When stationary it is not transparent, and not only
hides its owner from the donor's sight, but acts as a barrier to
his thoughts. The same man stated that this element can
[756] leave the body, can be seen by shamans, and that it is the one
[775] which ascends at the winter solstice to *Nusmāt·a*. At death it
is believed to accompany the spirit and the life to the land
above.

● 177 There seems no reason to doubt that the concept of tally
posts is an ancient belief. Nor does the application of the
773 term *ꝗwatłnusta* to another immaterial possession of quite
777 another type destroy this probability. It must be remembered
that within the last eighty years the Bella Coola have
suffered not only from the tremendous upheaval caused by
the coming of the white man, but have been reduced to a
mere fraction of their former numerical strength by various
epidemics. These factors have led to the partial forgetting
of ancient beliefs, with consequent confusion. It is probable
that the use of the same term for the tally post, intimately
connected with an individual's life although situated in the
land above, and for an invisible and intangible possession
which goes in front of him, is due to this recent decay of
ancient convictions. If this be true, it merely means that
in former times the Bella Coola had yet another supernatural
element to govern and influence their lives.

782 next day the weather was fine. This particular method of
424 praying had been learnt by one of his ancestors in the beginning
821 ning of time, and was afterwards transmitted in his family.
With the coming of the white man and consequent decay of
[785] customs, it has not been exercised since the death of the grand-
[177] father of the man from whom the information was obtained.

SACRIFICE

782 It might be expected that a clear division should be made
between the subjects of prayer and sacrifice, but in practice
they merge into one another. A mountain goat hunter, when
camped near a glacier which he knows to be the haunt of some
dreaded supernatural being, asks help from him. He wears
[824] dyed and undyed cedar-bark decorations to make his request
more ceremonious, and after the prayer throws them into the
fire, saying:

"Please accept these, supernatural one," thus making an offering to supplement his verbal petition.

If he is even more cautious, or eager not to offend any
[824] supernatural being in the vicinity, he throws on the fire tufts
[825] of cedar-bark, eagle down, and scraps of food as well. Whether
[261] or not the objects thus destroyed by the flames reach the being
to whom the request has been made, is a matter upon which the Bella Coola do not theorize; but the generosity and self-denial of the donor is appreciated, and a favour is often granted in return. A man who frequently hears in his dreams the voice of some supernatural being, knows that it is taking an interest in his doings and endeavours to propitiate it, by placing on a fire titbits of any food he has obtained, saying at the same time:

"*Wai, wai, wai,*" "More, more, more," that is, "May I receive more of the same."

A foolish person fails to show his appreciation of favours received, but a wise man never forgets to do so.

[502] Likewise a person is careful to propitiate supernatural
[133] powers when in peril. Both at Kwatna and at Mesatche Nose,
[756]

This endogamic principle will be described in greater detail 582
in vol. I, chap. VII, but mention of it here has been necessary [614]
to explain the composition of the ancestral family.

In recent years there has been a tendency for some men to
marry foreign women in order that they, or their children,
might obtain new prerogatives. Thus a trend towards exogamy
has arisen from the same reason which is supposed to [554]
have caused endogamy. The offspring of such marriages
cannot enjoy the feeling of strength and comfort that comes
from the membership of both parents in the same ancestral
family, but some individuals have felt that this was offset by
the gain of highly desirable foreign prerogatives. It is said
that this practice was initiated by a certain *Potles*, father of a
man about sixty years old in 1923. White influence probably [177]
had nothing to do with this radical innovation, although its
wide adoption has been made more easy by the establishment
of peaceful conditions on the coast.

Strong as is the belief in a common ancestry, it is unlikely 614
that this would have sufficed to hold together the members of
the ancestral family, without some definite prerogatives. These 554
are of two kinds: names and land.

NAMES

The fundamental principle governing Bella Coola nomenclature 551
is that each name must have originated in connection
with some event of comparative importance. It is unthinkable
to apply a casual designation to a child. At a person's death [768]
his name, or names, may be transmitted to a relative, and it
is proper that the owner of a name should know when, by [553]
whom, and for what reason, it was first created. Tradition [773]
affirms that, before coming to this earth, the first people were
all given designations by *Älquntäm*; these have been carefully
handed down and are still in use. One name cannot be given
to two individuals; instances occur of two people having the
same one, but in such cases they have different origins. One
person may have several names of different kinds, each carrying [428]

614 extinct, are unusual; normally, the group is largely centred in
one village, but with members scattered in other localities.
621. There is no central organization. It is generally recognized
that such a unit belongs in the village where its first ancestors
settled, and the leading chief of that village is, therefore, an
important person in the family, though without status of
[622] "head" of it. His advice may be appealed to in cases of dis-
[553] putes concerning names, but he lacks judicial authority. Theoretically, the descendants of the elder of two first people are
considered as "elder brothers and elder sisters" of those descended from a younger brother or sister; but this is nothing
more than an accepted fact; it plays no part in the social life
of the community.

552 In addition to human names, the origin myths include those
614 applied to dogs. The first ancestral group had dogs, and these
773 animals had names, or were given them by their powerful
masters. Ever since that time their descendants can apply
these designations to their own dogs. It is unnecessary to
validate such names, but no two canines can be given the same
one at the same time, according to the rule which governs the
bestowal of human names. This matter was not investigated
[539] in detail, and the only dog's name collected was one for which
the origin myth is as follows:

> When *Tăl·io* was first settled in the beginning of time, the houses
> were built in parallel rows, one above the other, up the side of a steep
> [514] knoll. At the very top was a toilet-house, built over such a steep incline
> that excrement rolled down the hillside. In consequence, one of the
> early chiefs living there gave to his dog the name, *Nulipmmutl di muk'*,
> "Rolling excrement," which has since been preserved in the ancestral
> family of his descendants.

LAND

124 Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining information
423 about land tenure. The Bella Coola resent keenly the way in
which their land has been occupied by white settlers without,
●177 according to their standpoint, proper compensation. Ques-

124 423 [177] tions on this subject always excited them, but every effort was made to verify the following statements.

423 614 773 [361] As with names, the easiest way to understand the rights of the ancestral family in land is by first considering the mythological explanation, which mirrors conditions as they existed at the coming of white men. On reaching this earth the first people are believed to have prospected for suitable settlement sites, places where salmon and olachen could be caught, and if possible, near side valleys where berries were abundant. Here they released the animals and plants which they had brought with them, on which they thenceforth subsisted, in accordance with the supreme deity's instructions. The members of the group pre-empted these areas for themselves. Waste land, far from any village was, and still is, free to anyone. A few years after the first settlements had been made, according to the myths, the supreme god sent down to Kimsquit a certain *Ālquntām* who allotted and marked the territory which was the property of each community; at that time a village consisted merely of a group of the first settlers. No similar myth was recounted for either Bella Coola or *Tāl·io*, although their concepts with regard to land are identical with those of the Kimsquit. This really gave a sacred sanction to the possession of land, an important matter to a people so religiously inclined as the Bella Coola.

423 614 The system of land tenure follows the same somewhat abstruse principles that govern the possession of names in an ancestral family. Hunting and collecting grounds appropriated by the first people, or by their immediate descendants, are the property of their offspring, the ancestral family. The Bella Coola term for such an area is *sol'loam*, also called, *suxsnumsta*, which means "Food Supply."

[224] [431] It will thus be seen that a hunting-area is not the property of any single individual, but belongs to a group of persons, most of whom live in a single town. The relatives of a man who intends to give a potlatch usually give him, temporarily, exclusive rights to the hunting-ground. As with names, there

the Germans it would have been moral and proper according to Bella Coola ethics, but to take land was unheard of. 423 [727]

Since land is only valued for hunting or collecting purposes, it is not divided into small areas. Any man can build his house at will near the village. It is said that at Kitlobe the crab-apple trees are the property of different ancestral families, themselves members of different tribes, but this is unknown in Bella Coola. It may be mentioned that the Bella Coola somewhat naïvely assume that all other coastal tribes have ancestral families similar to their own, although they recognize that some of them also have a clan system which has no counterpart in their social organization. [829] Since the concentration of the tribe on a small reserve and the beginning of agriculture, a system of individual ownership of cultivated land has sprung up. [177] It is realized that if a man clears and cultivates a field, the produce is his own, and he can will this land to whomsoever he pleases. [428] Likewise a man who rings a tree to kill it for firewood is the sole owner. The Bella Coola regard uncultivated land in the reserve as being at the disposal of anyone, a concept which appears not to have been taught them by any white administrator. Its origin seems rather to lie in the old belief that any unpreëmpted land, far removed from a village, can be used by anyone. It is recognized that the reserve cannot be considered as a *sol'olam* belonging to any ancestral group, hence it is free to all. One corner of it, however, includes the lower part of a side-valley formerly used by the people of *Tcamotl*. An old man, whose ancestral family lived in that village for generations, has set his bear-traps in this corner of the reserve for a number of years without interference from other hunters, who go far afield with their traps. [614] Even within the limits of the reserve it is felt that this man has the prime right to that area for the use of himself and his family.

Theoretically an ancestral family may die out. Several accounts were received of old men who, believing themselves to be the sole survivors of their family, bequeathed their names 614 428 721

(3) The bearing of exceptionally well-behaved children; 614

(4) The bearing of exceptionally naughty children; 827

(5) Disposition to steal;

(6) Uncontrollable sexual desires;

(7) Sudden death, that is, members of certain ancestral families are less apt than others to die of disease or old age;

(8) Death by drowning. One informant, in whose family this is a tendency, has twice been thrown into the water and barely escaped. He fully expects to meet his fate in this manner;

(9) Insanity (not a common malady); [158]

(10) Dribbling at the mouth with increasing age;

(11) Liability to contract the skin disease known as *loqaly*. With regard to the transmission of this disease the surprising information was received that if a relative of a sufferer should drink from the same bucket or use the same spoon as the patient, he is likely to contract the disease, whereas another person can use them with impunity. This statement may be based on a knowledge of germs learnt from the white man, and warped by a belief in inheritable tendencies, although it is amazing that the theory of germs could have reached the elderly Bella Coola. Possibly this statement is a relic of an old belief in the transmissability of disease through contact, but it is more reasonable to ascribe it to white influence. 614 827 753 177

In a later chapter an account is given of certain occupational abilities, including that of carpentry, which must be confirmed and validated by presents. The above are quite different; they are either present or absent without any action on the part of the individual. 614 827

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

The village community referred to in the preceding section consists, fundamentally, of the descendants, traced in the patrilineal line, of the reputed first settlers to occupy a site. Since a Bella Coola always describes himself as a native of such-and-such a town, it follows that the village community 614 621 in dances. In front of most houses rises a short totem-pole,* either pierced for the doorway, or standing on the opposite side of the sidewalk. 342 [211] [778]

THE FAMILY

It is probably no exaggeration to say that in every part of the world the most important social unit is the family. It certainly is among the Bella Coola, yet its lack of definite social obligations makes it difficult to define. Reduced to minimum size, the family consists of a man, his wife, or wives, and his children. Such a unit occupies one of the bedrooms of a large house, and it is to such a family that an infant automatically belongs at birth. Disregarding for the moment ceremonial obligations, which are shared by others, it is the father and mother who are responsible largely for the upbringing of the child. Such education as he receives comes from them, with the assistance of members of the ancestral family. This is chiefly imitative; a boy, as he increases in strength, follows his father on hunting expeditions or fishing. The mother teaches her daughters how to make baskets, and they follow her when she gathers berries, or when she cooks and performs household duties. The Bella Coola are fond of children, in many cases to the extent of over-indulging them, and they grow up amid the open life of the large houses, absorbing information of all kinds without being aware of so doing. 594 [851] 594 868 855 861

Only two kinds of functional training need be mentioned. A wise father carefully trains his sons to remember their debts (I, p. 369), and the method of teaching ancient myths has already been described; otherwise there is little direct instruction. On the other hand, parents devote great care to furnishing their children with every possible means of strengthening their supernatural elements on which success depends. These can 594 869

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*Since the Bella Coola believe that totem-poles were used by their ancestors in early times, they are included in this description of a village, without reference to their development in post-European times. This account is compiled from descriptions given by elderly informants; it is inevitable, therefore, that changes due to European contact may be included. [177]

of the father or the mother. In June, 1922, a Bella Coola girl 612
had reached the age of about six months without having received 614
a name. There was much adverse criticism about the 553
parsimony of her father's father and her mother's father, who
were held equally to blame, but who had really been deterred
by fear of the law prohibiting the potlatch.

As a child grows older he is helped in the performance of 593
ceremonial rites by his parents and by their brothers and 604
sisters. In this, too, it is considered a mark of poverty if only 852
the parents take part. If a man's own children do not appear
likely to carry on the traditions of his ancestral family, he has [558]
no hesitation in favouring the children of either a brother or
sister, since, like his own, they are all members of the same [614]
ancestral family. Especially in Kimsquit[11] it is customary for
a man to help his sisters' children; not that there is any lack
of knowledge of the real father, but rather as a mark of respect
and family feeling displayed by a man to his sister. Moreover,
in both Bella Coola proper and in Kimsquit, it is most improper [553]
for a name which a man has raised to a position of
dignity by the expenditure of much goods to be passed to his
own son; it should go to a distant relative. When a father
validates a name for his child it should be one long dormant.

One aspect of the manner in which the family merges imperceptibly 593
into the ancestral family can be seen in the inheritance 614
of names. When a man calls his relatives together to
make his will he is guided in the choice of recipients by the 428
characteristics of his children. An able son receives much 553
from his father, but lazy children are slighted without hesitation.
This is particularly true of names with which are
bound up valuable dance prerogatives, whereas, as previously
mentioned, ancestral names of which the importance depends

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[11] According to an intelligent Bella Coola informant, a Bella Bella pays greater attention to the children of his brothers and sisters than to his own offspring, and the same man expressed the opinion that the Kimsquit practice was due to Bella Bella influence. Kimsquit informants denied this, though emphasizing the important part taken by an uncle in obtaining prerogatives for his sisters' children, in some cases to the detriment of his own, which is rare in Bella Coola. [184] [177]

differentiate between cross- and ortho-cousins, and the unsystematic 601
groupings of nephews and nieces show "family,"
as opposed to classificatory, principles. Finally, rhetorical [602]
terms for the ancestral family, for many ancestors, and many
descendants, correspond to the importance of a large number
of relatives in Bella Coola thought.

In many parts of the world the classificatory system of 601
relationship occurs where the community is divided into clans. 614
The occurrence of some of these features among the Bella
Coola raises the question of whether or not they should be 178
regarded as survivals from an earlier clan form of social organization.
The Bella Coola may once have had clans, but their
relationship system does not furnish any real evidence to this
effect. The reciprocal terms really have the significance,
"Relation by marriage of the same generation," or "of a generation
once removed," a form of address which does not
require explanation in any ancient form of social organization.
Moreover, the importance of the eldest child, as potential
transmitter of the glories of the ancestral family, is sufficient [561]
reason for differentiating brothers and sisters in terms of their
relative ages. This feature suggests that in former times this
was more important than it has been in the recent past. It is
not implied that the Bella Coola never had a clan system, as
such may have been the case many generations ago, but their
kinship terminology can be explained without that hypothesis.
The somewhat wide application to cousins of terms which are
properly limited to brothers and sisters may easily have been
derived from a process of copying. The Bella Coola are well [177]
acquainted with the clan system of the northern coastal tribes,
so that it is by no means impossible, or unlikely, that they
should have adopted the principle of applying the same kinship
term to many individuals, and hence to members of their own
ancestral families. Finally, the somewhat vague and unsystematic 601
application of terms to relatives according to whether
or not they are members of the immediate family, is a feature
not at all surprising in view of the essential fluidity of Bella

1;McIlwraith E-3 (1922-1924)1948
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ened by the age-long power of his ancestor. Finally, in old 554
age a powerful chief is careless where he seats himself; his 556*
fame is so great that he can afford to disregard all conventions. 622
[183]

POWER OF CHIEFS

It will be seen from the foregoing that chieftainship among the Bella Coola does not depend on hereditary rank, still less on an elective principle, but on the individual's prestige as displayed, especially in his ability to acquire for himself a firm seat by the giving of presents. As he continues to do so his influence becomes ever greater. Consequently, it is impossible to state clearly what are the powers of a chief; such depend upon his prestige and influence. For a Bella Coola chief has no executive or judicial authority; what deference is shown to him depends on his success as a man, a factor which is constantly rising or falling.

The coming of the white man has enabled the Bella Coola [177]
to earn comparatively large sums of money by trapping and
fishing. This in turn has enabled nearly everyone to give at [434]
least one potlatch, a very different state of affairs from that which prevailed in the last century when it required years of toil for a man to amass the necessary food and skins. Consequently, in many towns there were no men who had given
potlatches, so that a man's prestige was estimated by the [451]
presents he had given at smaller ceremonies. Sometimes, [535]
moreover, a man preferred to increase his fame by giving rites of a different nature, such as *kusiut* dances, and the presents then distributed might elevate him in the eyes of the community, to a position above that of a man who had given a potlatch. This, however, was unusual.

After a fourth potlatch a man is accorded a position of eminence, and is termed a *nusmil'* chief. *Nusmil'* is an untranslatable word, with the significance of "passage," an allusion to the amount of goods which have passed through his hands.
Jealous and vulgar-minded persons pun on the word, applying [578]

thus been slain about seventy years earlier. It appears that attempts were commonly made to kill chiefs by means of sympathetic magic, and it is quite possible that such attempts, becoming known, preyed upon the minds of the victims to such an extent that death resulted. 578 622 682 [554]

WEALTH

Since wealth is so important in chieftainship, it would be desirable at this point to consider the concepts of wealth. Unfortunately, it is impossible to give a satisfactory treatment of this subject. The coming of the white man altered the economic aspects of Bella Coola life so radically, and at such an early period, that concrete examples of economic interdependence, so useful in a thorough study, could not be obtained in the field. It is possible that greater attention to this subject might have produced more satisfactory results, but I am doubtful of this. 114 177 556*

In the old days, "wealth" was of two categories: (*a*) Prerogatives, tangible or intangible, which could be shown, pictorially or dramatically, or could be expounded in words; and (*b*) Goods which could be distributed for validating such prerogatives. Individual possessions, unsuited for distribution, were hardly considered as wealth; a sewing-machine, a bottle of whiskey, a bed, or some other luxury might give satisfaction to the owner, but did not increase his importance in the eyes of his fellows. The value of objects was only for their use in ceremonial distribution; indeed, prior to such distribution, they were only of potential value. This attitude controlled Bella Coola economics in the early days of contact, and still influences their behaviour. A native store-keeper once ruefully commented on the fact that he would gain no advantage from the goods on his shelves, since he hoped merely to sell them, not to give them away. 556* [422] [177]

A man's relatives were expected to help him in the acquisition of goods, but the extent of their contributions was never 184 476 556* present, and the fame of the initiate is thereby carried farther afield than would be possible if only Bella Coola were in attendance. Every individual duly secluded and given a *sisaok* name feels himself ceremonially allied to others who have had a similar experience, and they form a grouping which may be termed the *sisaok* secret society. 553 556* 575

The close connection between this society and chiefs is obvious from the presence of names of each type in the same ancestral myths. None the less, every chief, that is a person with duly validated ancestral name and seat, is not a *sisaok*, unless he has validated a *sisaok* name for himself and undergone the period of seclusion. Conversely, a man may be a duly authorized member of the *sisaok* although lacking a seat and the other marks of chieftainship. The relationship is, however, so close that the Bella Coola think of the *sisaok* society as a society of chiefs. *Sisaok* dances take place at potlatches and funerals, and occasionally at gatherings of less importance. Difficulties arise at the death of a chief who has failed to use some of his goods for the acquisition of a *sisaok* name. Such a case took place at the death of an important Bella Coola in the summer of 1923. Theoretically, he was ignorant of *sisaok* rites, but after much discussion these were used on account of his importance as a [illegible] chief, an instance of the manner in which a man's personal importance over-rules ceremonial dictates. 575 622 [553] [595] [766] [185]

The Bella Coola believe that only some of their *sisaok* name-prerogatives came to this earth at the beginning of time with their first ancestors, and that many more have been acquired later by supernatural experiences. These were especially common among their forbears as they ranged over this earth seeking places to settle in the beginning of time. No *sisaok* name can be assumed casually; each must have had a specific origin. There are few *sisaok* origin myths, though theoretically there should be one to account for every name. The explanation appears to lie in the undoubted fact that many *sisaok* prerogatives have been acquired comparatively recently 424 551 575 773 [777]

177 from the Bella Bella, a fact emphasized by all. It is not diffi-
424 cult to understand, therefore, why elaborate myths are lacking,
even if such were possessed by the Bella Bella. The Bella
551 Coola possessed certain similar rites to which the Bella Bella
575 prerogatives were in the process of being grafted at the time
[773] of the coming of the white man. There has since been general
decay of ceremonial life, with the result that the whole situation is in a state of flux presenting great difficulties to the investigator.

428 *Susaak* names are willed and inherited in the manner already
described for other prerogatives. The type of dance, and the
551 time of use, will be described in the following section of this
575 chapter.

THE POTLATCH

*556 It is unfortunate that an adequate treatment of Rank
128 among the Bella Coola requires a description of the potlatch
since this ceremony, or rather group of ceremonies, includes a number of features which, logically, should have been postponed until a later stage of this monograph. An effort has been made to lessen references to non-ritualistic features by the description, just given, of the basic concepts of chieftainship and the *susaak* society. Other ideas will require rather lengthy digressions, a method of presentation which seems preferable to the use of many foot-notes, its only alternative.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

104 In scientific and popular writings alike, the term "pot-
*556 latch" has been applied both to the public giving of presents,
[431] and to the rites at which this occurs. But among the Bella
Coola, such distribution of gifts is necessary at every ceremonial; accordingly, each is essentially a potlatch. There is one, however, which the inhabitants regard as the most important of all, the goal which every ambitious man aims to reach, the rite in which his ancestral myth can be displayed. In this

of his village, hence they will not feel it incumbent upon them 556*
to intervene. But news travels, and in course of time the 688
sisaok members of some other tribe will decide to send a raiding
party against X's village. All informants agreed most empha- 628
tically that this custom prevailed among the coast people from the Tsimshian country to Alert Bay, but specific examples could not be obtained. The Bella Coola regard such a raid as the proper course to pursue, and belligerent tribes may have used an irregularity in the potlatch rites as an excuse for an assault. It is clear, however, that this custom never attained such prominence that it could be called a law.

The following is an instance of the Bella Coola outlook on 556*
the question:

The father of an informant had had such success in giving potlatches 688
that his neighbours were jealous. On one occasion he prepared a repre- [578]
sentation of a whale, an elaborate wooden frame, fifteen feet long, oper-
ated by men concealed within and carrying passengers; this was a figure [532]
which entered into his ancestral myth. One of the carpenters who made
it, bribed by a jealous rival of the donor of the potlatch, arranged that [578]
the lower jaw of the whale should fall to the floor during the proceedings.
This revealed the mechanism of the structure. White influence on the [177]
coast prevented an incursion of foreign raiders, but according to this
informant, the chiefs determined that his father should die, and they [754]
employed a sorcerer for this purpose. His father and eleven other relatives died soon afterwards. This man, the sole survivor, ascribes his escape to his adoption of Christianity.

Another instance of the penalty which follows errors in potlatch ritual
occurred a few years ago, when a number of young men used the cone- [534]
shaped whistles openly, as if they had been toys. The presence of the [177]
white man prevented any open steps towards punishment, but before long
all the youths died. No one knows what caused their deaths, though [754]
probably they were due to an expert in black magic acting on the instructions of a senior *sisaok*.

After the prayer, X and his family give more food to their 556*
guests, whose boxes containing what they are to carry away are increasing in number. By his lavishness, X increases his prestige in the eyes of his fellow-villagers.

If he can afford to build a new house embodying the form [335]

are built. The central fire is laid in the bottom of the pit, a 342
few feet above that is the platform where the guests are seated, 424
and the ground-level is a few feet above that again. A few 556*
instances are remembered of houses having been built with
two, and even three, of these tiers, or platforms. In those [177] ●
cases it appears certain that this type of construction was embodied
in a myth derived from Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet
people, where, according to the Bella Coola, large houses, of
five or six tiers, were not unknown.

X uses his own discretion in choosing his workmen,[1] avoiding 335
only his own relatives and those of his wife. The question 556*
of pay is never broached, but it is understood that X will 465
recompense those who have worked for him. The scale on
which he does so will depend entirely on his generosity. This
is one of the ways in which a chief helps the poor people of his
village. More food is distributed to "sharpen the wedges."

While a man is engaged on his allotted task any food or other articles which he or his family may obtain belongs to X. If a man who hews the planks takes his wife with him and she chances to pick berries while he is at work, these must be given to X who will distribute them with his other food at the potlatch, and it will be announced from whom he has received them. If a man's friends should help him to complete his task and then all go hunting, any skins acquired will belong to X; but when he repays his indebtedness he is expected to reward the worker, not only for his carpentry, but also for the berries or pelts. As X must give lavishly to prove his chieflike generosity, the collection of foods or skins by his workmen is profitable for them.

The guests have been passing in and out of X's house all 556*
day and towards dusk all again assemble within. Suddenly
the door is burst open by a number of young men carrying a
large log, like a battering-ram. The majority of the bearers [575]
are *susaok*, though they may obtain assistance from those who
are not members of the society. The people within the house
spring up to eject the ram, and a sham battle ensues. Back-

[1] [ie. to build a new house for a potlatch.
-ANALYST]

with a number of the large cone-shaped whistles used for *sısaok* ceremonial. Towards dawn, sounds come from these, and sometimes a dull thump is heard on the roof, as if a heavy being had landed there. At once there is great excitement within the house. The voices of supernatural people prove them to be at hand. No one is allowed to leave except a *sısaok siki*[9] who is skilled in dealing with *Mulakila*,[10] also called *Sixsixq̓wtnam*, the supernatural being closely connected with the *sısaok* ritual. Those within can hear the voice of the *siki* raised as if he were speaking to someone at a distance.

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[781]
[776]

"Chief, you have come too early," he says. "The house is not yet ready. Please return later."

He is answered by loud whistling, which grows fainter, as if the being who made it were moving away. In reality the young men are merely blowing less forcibly into the whistles.

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[9] The accounts of all informants agree that much of the *sısaok* ritual was newly imported into Bella Coola from Bella Bella. According to some statements, *Potles*, a Bella Coola chief who died between 1870 and 1880, married a Bella Bella wife, also one from Rivers Inlet, and it was these two women who brought with them as dower certain *sısaok* prerogatives. It is said that previous to that time the Bella Coola did not understand the use of the large cone-shaped whistles, nor were they able to summon the supernatural beings to the youths secluded in the back-room, nor to dispel the beings at the conclusion of the rites. On the other hand, some Bella Coola claim that their first ancestors brought the whistles with them from the land above. It is probable that the calling in of the supernatural beings is a recent addition to the potlatch, which accounts for the contradictory accounts, but whether or not the whistles are a new feature is more doubtful. It appears certain that the prerogative of *siki* has recently been obtained from the Bella Bella. *Siki* means "the one who cures," and the name is given to the man whose prerogative it is to tend the *kusiut* initiates in whom supernatural powers are located. In Bella Bella there is a similar functionary for *sısaok* matters, known as a *hai·alakila*. Through intermarriage several Bella Coola have recently obtained this prerogative; in each case it is frankly stated that it has been derived from the Bella Bella. The Bella Coola apply to these, so favoured, the term *siki*, as they do for the *kusiut* "curer," though the Bella Bella name, *hai·alakila*, is used with equal frequency. The present *siki* have endeavoured to claim for themselves certain ceremonial functions formerly carried out by any *sısaok*. In this account of a potlatch it is assumed that a *siki* is functioning on all occasions, but in many cases any senior *sısaok* is considered sufficiently close to the supernatural beings to act satisfactorily. Until about 1870 it is clear that any *sısaok* was regarded as capable of doing so.

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[563]
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[10] Knowledge of this being is said to have been acquired by the marriage of a certain *Smaoan* of Kimsquit to a Bella Bella woman in the beginning of time. [177]

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capped by the mask. If the *tutwinam* represents Wasp[14] or 556*
Grizzly Bear, he does not make a circuit and a fluent *sısaok*
explains that to do so would be unsafe owing to the ferocity 575
of these animals. When the song is ended, the figure passes [535]
into the back-room. After a short interval it reappears,
recrosses the house, and leaves by the front door, to the accompaniment of increased whistling.

A few myths embody two *tutwinam*. In this case, a second figure presently enters and the same ritual is repeated for a second song. This usually differs, musically, from the first, being in three parts and with even more rapid time. More often, the second song is merely beaten out by the singers without the appearance of a *tutwinam* to supply an obvious source.

This is the normal, but not the only practice with regard 556*
to a *tutwinam*. In some cases the figure does not appear until 575
after the singing of the first song, and the uninitiated are told that it has been attracted by the music. In this case it passes into the back-room, later to reappear and leave by the front door. An announcement is made that it has brought a strange power, that Y has become peculiar, and that his name is now, for example, *Qwaqwasila*. A herald bears this news through the village. A second song is then sung in due course.

The *tutwinam* is difficult to classify among Bella Coola [776]
supernatural beings. It appears in the form of an ancestral
crest, but the *sısaok* do not seem to have taught the uninitiated to regard it as Y's actual forefather. It remains as a supernatural embodiment of his crest, a materialization of an element of family history, and a motive for the use by Y of a mask representing the apparition. The uninitiated do not seek further; they have seen a wonderful sight and are content.

Several of the older *sısaok* stated that the *tutwinam* concept [177]
was not indigenous to Bella Coola; it had been recently [776]

[773]
[825]

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[14] None of the first people came to earth as Wasps, but several received so much help from these insects that they are regarded as crests by the descendants of those whom they assisted.

* 556 adopted, probably as a prerogative obtained through mar-
riage, from the Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people. The diver-
575 sity in ritual supports this view. There was not sufficient
● 177 time for the procedure to become stabilized between the intro-
[776] duction of the concept and the dislocation of Bella Coola social
life through the influence of the white man. It is also possible
that the *tutwinam* was added to *sısaok* rites from the older
a'alk society (I, p. 273).

532 Whatever may have been the history of the *tutwinam*, it
* 556 provides Y with a mask, or with two, if two figures have ap-
peared. He guards them jealously, though secretly, through-
575 out his life and uses them only on rare ceremonial occasions.
[769] It is one of these masks which will be brought out if one of his
family gives a dramatic representation of his return after death.
[428] A mask of this type is sometimes willed, but the legatee alters
the design before using it.

* 556 A short pause follows the singing of the second, or third,
song, during which some chief or chiefs may make a laudatory
575 speech concerning Y's family history. Then the singers again
[537] sing the first song, and *sısaok* members of the audience join in.
[533] Similarly, the second song is practised. These two are sung,
time after time, until the *sısaok* have thoroughly mastered
them. When the singers consider that this has been accom-
plished, they tell X, who communicates with the *sısaok* man
outside who has the whistle, and again its eerie notes are heard.
[781] Some of the uninitiated, believing that the supernatural being
who gives potency to the ritual is at hand, hurriedly leave in
fear. At the same time some of the *sısaok* conduct to the back-
room the second initiate whose songs are to be sung that night.
The procedure in his case is identical with that described for Y.
Usually it is considered sufficient to seclude two on one night,
though three may be attempted. When the songs of the last
have been sung, food is distributed and the people disperse.

A few nights later the same ritual is repeated for two more initiates, who join their predecessors in the back-room. Here they spend their time in idleness, the only essential being the

Poor people, white guests, or others from whom no return can 553
possibly be received, share equally in the distribution; the 556*
money goes to all to validate the transaction. On the other
hand, X expects that the presents, if any, made to a few indi- 575
viduals after the general distribution, will be returned with
interest. In selecting the recipients of these he has been animated, first, by the necessity of repaying old debts, and secondly by his desire to make good investments in the shape of presents to those likely to show their chiefly nature by returning with heavy interest. No request is ever made for such
repayment, but as the transaction has been publicly an- [558]
nounced, a man fears to fail to repay, since that would lower his prestige. No one may refuse a present, no matter how embarrassing it may be.

After the gifts have been distributed the songs of the
initiates are practised. Members of the *susaok* society join in [533]
with the singers; the other spectators listen attentively, full of interest, but take no part. X with his helpers then gives food to all, and they depart.

Before the coming of the white man a potlatch was a rare 535
event, and *susaok* members were initiated at local gatherings. 556*
The period of confinement was the same as that just described, 575
but instead of merely practising the songs during the interval, 177
the initiates appeared and danced to them. It will be convenient here to describe that ritual, emphasizing the fact that at a potlatch, when the initiates can be confirmed in the presence of foreign guests, this preliminary rite does not take place.

After the distribution of goods the singers beat out[16] the 292
tune of any one of the initiates, and all emerge in close suc-
cession from the back-room, each wearing a blanket, without 535
distinctive design, a collar of dyed and pounded cedar-bark 556*
decorated with pendant weasel skins, and the distinctive *susaok* 575
head-dress (see Plate 15).[1/A] This consists of a circlet of grizzly
bear claws, surmounted in front by a small forehead mask; from 237
the inner side of the circlet there rise a number of sea-lion

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[16] The present tense is used for uniformity.

[1/A] [See cat. 116, facing p 218 - ANALYST]

242 whiskers over which is scattered eagle down. From the back
535 of the head-dress hang weasel skins. In Bella Bella it is said to
be customary for a skin to be added on every occasion when a
*556 *susaok* is confined to the back-room. This may happen as many
575 as fifteen times to the child of wealthy parents, and a few Bella
Coola have adopted the practice of marking each with a skin.
[237] Usually, some six or nine are hung in two tiers, without consideration of the number of times the wearer has been in seclusion. The central figure of the forehead mask is a head with
[532] a hooked nose, the recurved hook being joined to the face
itself. This figure does not vary with the wearer's ancestral
myth, and no one knows what it represents. This design is
● [177] said to have been introduced to Bella Coola from the north a
few generations ago; before that time the head-dress consisted
[237] of a circular band of dyed cedar-bark, decorated with the tail
[824] feathers of one of the large woodpeckers. The Bella Coola call
it simply, "forehead mask." Each initiate carries a hollow
[532] rattle, carved in the shape of a bird, which he holds in his right
[534] hand, belly uppermost. Long, long ago, when a dancer failed
to do so, the rattle became alive and the bird flew away; hence,
this rule has been obeyed ever since.

535 Each initiate takes up his station in some part of the house
*556 behind the fire and dances to the beating of the sticks. The
left hand of each is clasped behind his back and in his right he
575 holds the rattle and keeps it in constant motion by shaking his
wrist. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a good dancer. Keeping the body stiff and the legs close together, he rises with slight jumps, barely altering his position on the floor. Sometimes he slowly turns around sunwise[17] in his series of jumps, at other times he does not alter his position. The head is bent from side to side and downwards at each jump, causing the eagle down to fly in all directions. *Susaok* assistants blow more of the material on to the head-dress at intervals (see Plate 16). 1/1

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[821]
[796] [17] The Bella Coola believe that the sun moves from east to south to west to north. Many ceremonial movements follow this direction, which will henceforth be described as sunwise.

1/1 [See cat 116, facing p 219 - ANALYST]

turns, clad in his ceremonial costume, including a long cape 556*
with pockets. With him come the four or five young men who 575
have just finished dancing. The singers beat time furiously 789
with their sticks, and the *siki* whirls round and round, working himself into a frenzy with twists and gyrations. Gradually, he approaches one of the initiates, and pretends to pluck something from his body. As he opens his hands the spectators see that there is something in them, what exactly, they cannot distinguish. Only those who are *sisaok* understand that, whatever it is, it has been palmed from one of his cape pockets. He pretends to throw this object upwards, at the same time slipping it back into his cape. As the article is, theoretically, thrown aloft the sound of whistling is heard, which grows weaker and weaker till it finally ceases. Meanwhile the heralds discourse loudly with one another about how the "eagle" or whatever it is, has been extracted, and is now returning above. The same procedure is repeated for the other initiates. This concludes the night's ceremony. Food is distributed and the people disperse.

The employment of a foreign *siki* to expel the power from [424]
the initiates is necessary since this particular prerogative is not
native to Bella Coola. Formerly the expulsion was done in the [177] ●
back-room without any elaborate ceremony. This rite marks 556*
the admission of initiates into the *sisaok* society although they 575
cannot yet leave the back-room. It must be understood, however, that a youth may be initiated several times, on each occasion receiving new songs and perhaps a different mask. In this way his prestige as a *sisaok* is increased, and the son of
a powerful chief will often be initiated ten or more times. A
mask so acquired is preserved in concealment as the personal [422]
property of the owner who may use it at potlatches on future [532]
occasions. It will be the guise in which a dead person returns [428]
to visit the living. After being used for this purpose, a mask may be burnt, or willed to a near relative of the deceased, who slightly alters the painting before using it himself.

It is somewhat difficult to understand the attitude of those [781]

There now remains only the necessity of removing from the 556* house itself the supernatural power with which it is firmly 575 believed to have been impregnated throughout the many weeks of the ceremony. Should this not be done, it would be so 783 strong that only *susaok* could thenceforth live in it, and no 789 *kusiut* rite could be performed therein. One of the senior chiefs, acting on X's behalf, requests as many *siki* as are present to go to the back-room. At the same time a drum is beaten slowly. The *siki* call out loudly, in unison, *hoip* four times. The whistles sound from the back-room with ever-lessening intensity, as if the supernatural being, whose voice they are, were going away. It is said that this practice has [177] ● been comparatively recently adopted from Rivers Inlet: there used to be nothing of the kind. The *siki* re-emerge, and one of them stands behind the fire with his stick which he beats on the floor and calls on the audience to shout with him, "*hi* · · ·." This is done four times. It serves to purify the house from the supernatural power with which it has been saturated. The people then disperse, without food.

Goods from the general store are reserved to pay these men [465] for their services, and also for cleansing the initiates from the powers with which they have been imbued, a rite that takes place the following morning in the presence of several *siki* alone. The initiates are brought from the back-room and seated in a close circle between the door and the fire.[11] A foreign *siki* is chosen by X to perform the actual cleansing rite. He has been asked beforehand and has come provided with a long pole and some soiled clothing. It is immaterial whose this is, provided that it has been in contact with a [778] human body; the most potent articles are catamenial cedar-bark pads. [841]

The *siki* covers the young men with a large cedar-bark mat. Then he fastens the clothing or pads to his pole and holds the end in the fire until they are smouldering. Then he swings it four times over the heads of the initiates and throws the stick

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[11] Behind the fire according to some informants.

*556 with the objects back on the fire. In some cases four sets of
575 cloths are used. This rite, which is regarded as very important,
frees the lads from the supernatural powers with which
783 they have been endowed, and permits them finally to leave
789 the back-room and return to normal life, just as their earlier
cleansing freed them from the *tutwinam*. During their period
of seclusion no initiate can perform a *kusiut* ceremony of any
kind. The supernatural beings of the two societies, though
closely akin, are yet independent, and it would be unthinkable
for a man to enter into contact with the two at the same time,
unless he should be the owner of a rare prerogative enabling
[424] him to do so. Only a few men have the right, which undoubtedly
was derived either from the Bella Bella or the
● [177] people of Rivers Inlet.

X pays the functioning *siki* with new clothing. This completes
*556 the whole ceremony. The guests either return home or
575 adjourn to some other house where a potlatch is taking place,
[465] but no rites mark their departure.

Such, then, are the principal features of the Bella Coola
*556 potlatch. Without making a careful comparison of its features
171 with those of neighbouring tribes, the following points stand
out with great clearness:

(1) The basic concepts of the potlatch in Bella Coola are the same as those of the rite practised elsewhere on the coast.

(2) A potlatch has not the same importance at Bella Coola
as it has on other parts of the coast, especially among the
Kwakiutl. All informants stated repeatedly that they did not
[186] carry their potlatches to the same lengths as did the "foolish"
Kwakiutl, nor were they as keen financiers. A Bella Coola
would never entirely impoverish himself by lavish giving.

(3) The potlatch, though fundamentally the same as it is elsewhere on the coast, has certain rites characteristic of the locality. The central Bella Coola feature, the return of a dead ancestor, is not equally important elsewhere. It would be interesting to be able to trace the history of this. The most

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probable conjecture, and it is impossible to make more than a conjecture, is that it is a concept which has developed among the Bella Coola in association with their specialized theology and has been incorporated into the potlatch complex. On the other hand, the return of the dead may be an old feature, decayed in other tribes through the ever-increasing economic aspects of the potlatch, which are of less import in Bella Coola. Whether or not *Mulakila* is of Bella Coola origin is questionable; he may be merely an altered form of a supernatural being found among other coastal tribes.

(4) The potlatch concept, that is, the necessity of distributing presents to validate every transaction, and to establish a man's status, is an old custom. The whole trend of Bella Coola thought supports this view, and it is to be expected from the prevalence of the same idea among other coastal tribes.

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Unquestionably, the introduction of white men's tools has made it easier to give a potlatch. In the old days, as informants reiterated again and again, it was a matter of years to save up the essential skins and goods, so that a potlatch was a rare event. Now a man is able to work in a cannery for a single season and earn enough for an elaborate ceremony. Accordingly, most of the old names have been duly validated, whereas long ago some of them might have lain dormant for generations. The descendants of old, influential families smile ruefully:

"Now everyone is a chief," they say.

It appears that the facility for giving potlatches has increased the feature of the destruction of goods, in fact that this is little more than an excrescence on the ancient ritual. Thus it may be said that the coming of the white man has facilitated the giving of potlatches, has somewhat changed their form, but has not altered their concept.

211 in the appearance of the poles. Sometimes one is erected at
*556 the front door of the house with an opening at its base through
which all must pass to enter the house, or a pole may be solid
778 and stand on the opposite side of the sidewalk; the choice in
532 either case depending upon the usage recorded in the ancestral
[184] myth. Instead of a totem-pole, a chief may display his ancestral cloaks by means of paintings on the front wall of his house, or by carved house-posts supporting the longitudinal beams, if such had been used by his ancestors. Moreover, a chief entitled to display a totem-pole may choose to use only paintings. If he validates these by presents, they give him the same dignity and importance as a totem-pole, particularly if he cannot validate its construction by lavish gifts. Most Bella Coola poles are only about fifteen to twenty feet in height, and though
[171] it is possible that a few families had prerogatives entitling them to construct lofty poles, such as used by the Haida, it is unlikely that such were ever common.

When a chief who has erected a totem-pole before his house gives another potlatch, he may wish to put up a second pole beside the first. Occasionally two or three poles stand before the house of a chief, but one is more frequent or even none at
[764] all. At death the pole is often taken to the cemetery where it acts as a memorial-post (I, p. 461). Otherwise it remains standing until some other occupant of the house wishes to erect another in its place, when the first is pulled down and neglected.

COPPERS

*556 The Bella Coola use coppers for only two purposes: casting
[769] on the ground upon which the representation of a deceased relative had trodden, or throwing into the fire when the figure has left the house. In either case, they are said to "make bone for the dead." Although used but rarely, the occasion when a copper is employed is so important that to obtain one and increase its value is a vital consideration for every chief.

[177] [439] Most of the coppers now used by the Bella Coola are made

of metal obtained from the white man, if not actually machine- 556*
made for trading purposes. They resemble the familiar shape 177 ●
found in all parts of the British Columbia coast and vary in 439
length from about six inches to as much as three feet. There is considerable difference in thickness; some of the newer ones are thin plates, others are heavy and appear to be old. The early white traders realized the value placed by the Indians on their coppers and these were soon imitated and became important articles of barter. The Bella Coola state that many of the early Hudson's Bay Company's coppers were made of drawn wire, but this type seems to have passed out of existence, since all the specimens seen in Bella Coola consisted of flat metal plaques.

The Bella Coola maintain that their ancestors have, [illegible] 556*
since the beginning of time, used two kinds of coppers. O[illegible] variety, known as *lālia*, resembled the plaques produced by white men. This is the term in common usage for all kinds of coppers at the present time. The other variety, *taitaimę*, is
said to have been thicker and heavier and was made by heating [325]
the metal in a fire, beating it into the required shape. Long, long ago, coppers of this kind were sometimes found in the
forest by hunters who were thus rewarded for observance of [439]
ceremonial chastity, but most were obtained in trade from the northern tribes. One of these is said to be preserved at Kimsquit, but none is said to have been owned by a Bella Coola within the last few years.

The Bella Coola believe that *taitaimę* can only be manu- 59*
factured in one district, far to the north, at the mouth of an 773
unknown river. There, it is said, the chiefs range themselves along the river bank, each armed with a spear, and each with a number of slaves behind him. When the tide is highest, salmon of some peculiar kind appear at the surface of the water. If one comes within reach of a spearman, he lunges at it, but invariably misses; then the chief drops his spear, seizes one of his slaves and kills him by cutting his throat. A small piece of

* 556 773 flesh cut from the body is fastened to the point of the spear, making it so potent that when next the chief lunges at a salmon he transfixes it and brings it ashore. He warms the fish at a fire and then pounds it on a stone until it becomes a copper.

No Bella Coola has visited this distant river for many generations and the belief concerning the manufacture of *taitaimy* appears to have been handed down from dim antiquity. Coppers of this kind are said to have been considered much more valuable than the usual *lälia*, but were always uncommon. In addition to their ordinary uses, they had a certain curative value. If the owner of one was ill, he used to clean it [755] with a rough stone and water; then he would drink four cupfuls of the liquid which contained minute fragments of metal. In almost every case a speedy recovery followed. In all other respects *lälia* or *taitaimy* could be used indiscriminately.

Lälia are likewise said to have a supernatural origin. When found in the forest, they are due to the supernatural salmon- [776] like being, *susiatl*, having changed itself into one. None has been found in recent years because the *susiatl* have moved away owing to their dislike of the smell of human footsteps and the taint of smoke.

These stories serve to emphasize the complete ignorance of [325] the Bella Coola concerning the methods of manufacturing coppers. It is possible that long ago they were able to make their own by pounding the native metal, but if so it is surprising that some traditions to this effect were not preserved. ● [177] On the other hand, there is little reason to doubt their use of coppers, obtained from the northern tribes, antedating the coming of the whites. All informants agreed on this point, and the frequent references to coppers in mythology likewise point to considerable age. In many of the ancestral myths there are accounts of the obtaining of coppers by some of the [551] first people, and many ancestral names, both of men and women, are derived from them.

[237] The Bella Coola attribute the value of coppers to the fact

435 immediately before, or during the early stages of a potlatch, in
order to receive goods immediately, but with the proviso that
*556 it shall be returned to him for throwing into the fire. This
[492] method has the advantage of providing the chief with goods
[426] when required, and doubles the worth of the copper.

Coppers are not always rescued from the ashes and given
to poor men. If one is still lying in the fire after several days,
[764] the donor of the potlatch removes it and fastens it to the
memorial-post over the grave of his deceased relative. It may
be left there, or another chief wanting a copper may buy it
from the donor and increase its value in the usual manner.
Only a small price is paid in such circumstances, since the
copper, having served its purpose, is practically valueless.

● 177 The Bella Coola state that in ancient times coppers were
worth less than at present, and that the change in sentiment
435 regarding them is due to Kwakiutl influence. All agree that
*556 the value placed upon them at Fort Rupert and Alert Bay is
greater than elsewhere on the coast. The Bella Coola believe
that the Kwakiutl distribute presents in respect to their coppers and that their values mount to enormous sums when the
gifts are returned. It is clear that the importance of coppers,
like the potlatch and other elements of culture, has increased
in recent years through the influence of the coastal tribes.

*556 It is almost impossible to define coppers in the nomenclature of economic theory. They are not mere articles of
barter, since they have no practical use outside the ceremonies
of chiefs. Nor are they standardized units of trade or currency, since each differs not only from all other coppers, but
[436] also at different periods. In a sense they serve as tokens of
[211] what has been expended; representations of them may be
[532] carved and painted on totem-poles where they serve as marks
of the goods which the chief has given away, but this is only
a minor consideration. A copper can perhaps best be described
[426] as an investment which can be applied only to one purpose,
[435] "the making of bone for a deceased" person. It grows more
valuable at every transmission in accordance with the goods ex-

688 his relatives. This punishment is customary in cases of the
693 upsetting of a canoe. Death is the penalty for throwing refuse
into the river, particularly during the summer, and until the
[177] coming of the white man the River Guardian exacted it without
hesitation.

THE PROFESSION OF UTTERING A DRONING CRY

424 At the appearance of masked figures representing supernatural
551 beings, whether in *susaok* or *kusiut* dances, many of the
women repeatedly utter a peculiar, high-pitched, droning cry
[575] which adds considerably to the weirdness and impressiveness
[463] of the occasion. Ability to do this depends on an ancestral
prerogative duly confirmed by the distribution of presents.
[431] Many ancestral myths describe how some of the first women
[773] were given by *Alquntäm*, or acquired in other ways, the right
to drone, and mention is made of the name used by each with
respect to this prerogative. Unlike the one previously described,
many of the first women possessed this privilege,
which is accordingly common at the present time. A name
[553] of this type is usually confirmed in girlhood, sometimes even
in infancy, and being of relatively slight importance may be
validated at a ceremony of less dignity than a potlatch. One
of these names is *Nunuqwelelslaixen-a*, which has reference to
[773] the blue-green sheen of some abalone-shell brought from the
east by Raven in the beginning of time, as described in the
ancestral myth in which this name is included. For many
[178] years there has been considerable laxity with regard to this
prerogative, and women lacking it have even been urged to
drone in order to add to the solemnity of the occasion and to
increase the wonder of the uninitiated.

424 There is another similar prerogative, enabling the incumbent
767 to drone at mourning ceremonies. In the beginning of
time, *Smaoan* of Kimsquit married *Tlákwaitl*, the daughter of
463 a Bella Bella chief, who had this right. It has since been
773 transmitted from one of her descendants to another at Kimsquit.

THE PROFESSION OF CARPENTER 335

As with singers, there are many carpenters who ply their 424
trade without the advantage of an ancestral prerogative. They, 463
also, may be expert and receive credit for their skill, but they
can never achieve quite the distinction that comes to a man 555
who has been made a carpenter by the distribution of presents. The latter may be so clumsy with tools that no one would ever trust him to make a canoe, or even a mask; but he is, socially, a carpenter, whereas a skilled artisan lacking a prerogative is admired for his ability but has no foundation of social esteem. In transmitting a professional carpenter's name, however, an [553]
effort is always made to give it to a youth with a bent in that direction.

The most esteemed carpenters are those who can make 335
canoes, a trade which requires no special prerogative. In the 779
beginning of time, *Yulätimut* was the canoe-maker *par excellence;* he assisted many of the first people, and no one can have a professional prerogative as carpenter unless this supernatural being appears in his ancestral myth. The Bella Coola ascribe [829]
the skill of the Bella Bella in carpentry to the fact that *Yulätimut* married a Bella Bella woman in the early period of the world and that many of that tribe are his descendants. In the 335
old days, before the coming of the white men, carpenters were
always respected as esteemed members of the community. [554]
Chiefs always cared for them, and they received abundant food at every ceremonial. None the less, they were not wealthy,
and only in recent years, since the Bella Coola have realised [777]
the value put upon good craftsmanship by the white men, has it become customary to give valuable presents to carpenters. Ceremonially, they have considerable influence, since the carpenter who makes a mask usually decides who shall wear it and [532]
takes charge of the fitting and adjustment. He is also held responsible for any accident such as its falling when in use or for mechanical defects.

224 THE PROFESSION OF HUNTER

424 [469] Another profession which is entered by means of an ancestral prerogative is that of hunting. Many Bella Coola have validated their right to this vocation, some by conferring names created by their early ancestors, others by legalizing those brought down from above in the beginning of time. [551] One of the latter is *[illegible]*, "The Brusher Off," so-called because the owner is such a successful hunter that he can sweep mountain goats from the mountains as easily as an ordinary person can brush insects from a wall. Unlike the professions of carpenter and singer, it is believed that legalization of a hunter's name always brings success to the holder; perhaps because everyone is more or less successful, it follows [555] that whatever good fortune is achieved by a professional hunter can be attributed to the validation of his prerogative. Others, [556] lacking this assistance, may be proficient, but their success never carries with it the social prestige gained by a man who has distributed goods to substantiate the prerogative.

224 424 184 [177] There is a difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not certain hunting methods are inheritable prerogatives. With the introduction of rifles, these have long been discontinued, and no definite information was obtained regarding the social position of their users. Several of the older men believed that the contrivances depended upon ancestral prerogatives, whereas others stated that they were merely individual discoveries which could have been, and in many cases were, imitated by anyone. It seems probable that most of the following practices are prerogatives, although it may be that they are no more than special hunting devices suitable only in certain areas and, therefore, limited to the members of the ancestral family owning that particular locality.

223 424 The method about which the most definite information was obtained, was one formerly employed by a certain *[illegible]* to catch geese at *[illegible]*. According to one elderly Bella Coola,

expenditure though he must forgo the prestige enjoyed by a 424
man who has been able to elevate his professional names in a 556
lavish manner. Selection is a constant factor in the social life 182
of a Bella Coola; the man who uses all his wealth to acquire a firm seat cannot be "strong" in *kusiut* matters; the man who desires to specialize in *kusiut* affairs cannot afford to display an elaborate totem-pole. Amid these conflicting desires, it often happens that a man somewhat neglects his professional prerogatives, especially those of which the dignity has been slightly lessened through superior skill shown by individuals endowed with no more than native ability. Upstarts of this kind have always infringed upon professional dignity, and the coming of the white man has added a new factor which has almost destroyed ancestral prerogatives. [555] [177]

ʔalk Dances

The most important, as well as the most spectacular, dances that occur at potlatches are those given by members of the *kusiut* society. In addition to these, a feature of many potlatches is the performance of *ʔalk* dances.[7] As already mentioned, from 1870 onwards there have been many changes in *kusiut* ritual; new elements have been acquired by the marriages of Bella Coola to members of the coastal tribes, with the result that details of procedure vary at every ceremony according to the prerogatives of the donor. Since 1910, the influence of white civilization has increased to such an extent that *kusiut* ceremonials have virtually been abandoned. This took place at a time when the ritual was in transition, a state of affairs which rendered difficult the collection of coherent information. *ʔalk* dances are associated with *kusiut*, but the addition of new features to the latter was accompanied by a decay of the former. Both societies have now almost ceased to exist, but whereas the *kusiut* organization was abandoned during a period of change and accretion, that

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[184]
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[7] Called *c'alqan* in Kimsquit.

177 of the *a'alk* came to an end when it was already waning in
535 importance. It was impossible to obtain as much detailed
575 information about the latter as was desired, and it is even
125 possible that some of the facts recorded in connection with *sisauk* ceremonial really belong to *a'alk* rites.

The right to perform an *a'alk* dance depends upon a duly
424 validated ancestral prerogative of which the obvious mark is
535 an *a'alk* name. Some of the first people brought down such designations and dances with them from above in the beginning
575 of time, a few were acquired on this earth as gifts from super-
[773] natural beings. Those who have rights of this kind form a loose organization which may be termed the *a'alk* society. This is closely associated both with the *sisauk* society and with chiefs, owing to the occurrence of these three types of names in the same ancestral myths. One member of an ancestral
[554] family may use his goods to validate his ancestral name, another to make himself a *sisauk*, a third to become an *a'alk*, and an important chief, endowed with ability and wealth, may be able to do all three.

A'alk dances are less spectacular than those of either the *sisauk* or *kusiut* societies, nor are rattles or whistles used. The prerogatives of a member are limited to his name, the right to perform a certain dance, and the use of a song which commonly describes some feature of his ancestral myth. Four types of dances are considered to be *a'alk*; the methods of acquiring and using any one of these are similar, so it is unnecessary to describe the differences before the actual account of the performance of each.

554 If there is a dormant *a'alk* prerogative in the ancestral
575 family of the donor of a potlatch, he usually chooses to validate this as one of the features of his ceremony. He first consults his wife and other relatives to ensure that sufficient goods will be forthcoming, and if this matter can be arranged satisfactorily, he chooses some young relative as the recipient of the dormant right. It would be most unusual for the youth selected to decline the honour. Or some man, other than the

1;McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

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574 presents to the singers and heralds who have rendered assistance. Instead of dispersing immediately, the guests may remain
535 to gamble or wrestle. Since there is no solemnity attached to
[538] the affair, it is a time for indulgence in amusements of all kinds.
[525] These conclude the chief features of the *a'alk* dances. Probably they once played an important part in the lives of the
[524] Bella Coola, but with the increase in importance of the *sisaok*,
[178] they have decayed into little more than a form of entertainment.

A'ALK ORIGIN MYTHS

551 Theoretically, every Bella Coola *a'alk* should be able to
575 record the myth in which his name is embodied, but few can
773 do so. Of course if a man has been able to validate both ancestral and *a'alk* names from the same myth, that is his authorization for both. In many cases a myth is split, and the portion containing an *a'alk* appellation is given to some member of the ancestral family, other than the chief able to validate the most important ancestral name. In such a case, the *a'alk* can record little more than that his designation came down with a specified group of the first people. This, for example, is the explanation given by a Kimsquit *kusiut* for his name *Sm-adlotla* which came to earth with *Smaian* (I, p. 332) in the beginning of time. Another Kimsquit *a'alk*, *Thaiyākam*, whose prerogative is to perform the dance of that name, states that it was brought down by *Sinuqual* (I, p. 316), who assumed the designation of *Thaiyākam* after its performance. This early settler had the additional name of *Wi'talas*.

539 The two following origin myths were obtained in some detail:

Once,[9] long, long ago, *Alquntam* came to the conclusion that it was not good for the inhabitants of the world to be afraid of supernatural beings. He decided that the best way to dispel this dread would be to arrange a marriage between his daughter, *[illegible]*, and a mortal; so he

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[115]
[177] [9] Related by Mrs. Willie Mack. European elements have obviously been incorporated into the first part of this legend, though the narrator considered the whole tale to be ancient.

556 performance of rites of this kind. But sociological and ethical
[182] concepts, shown at their highest development in the potlatch,
are not limited to a few weeks of the year, or to any class of
the community. Generosity on a large scale can be publicly
[577] displayed by chiefs alone, but to a lesser degree this virtue
must be practised by everyone, since avarice is considered a
major sin. Anyone who happens to pass a house in which a
576 meal is taking place must be invited to share it; to do other-
574 wise would be considered rude. The person summoned must
take at least a trifle to show that he is not churlish and too
proud to eat with his host, while if he is hungry, he shares
whatever is being served as a matter of course. The head of
177 the family should be the first to taste any wine[14] as proof that
[273] it is not poisoned, but otherwise he fares little, if any, better
[342] than his guests. This custom is now rapidly falling into disuse
[414] through the construction of individual family houses with doors
and locks. The fisherman who has exclusive rights to a suit-
476 able place for netting olachen or salmon must give some of his
catch to anyone who asks him. If he has landed four salmon,
[226] the first solicitor is given one, later comers, none at all. When
a net is set in the river, anyone passing is allowed to raise it
and take some of the contents; if there are two fish, he may
remove one, if many, three or four. To take all would be a
[685] despicable theft, sufficient to brand the transgressor as greedy;
[626] hence public opinion prevents the system from being carried
to excess. A hunter who brings back several mountain goats
[224] or other large game is expected to invite his neighbours to a
feast, which virtually means that he must share his takings.

Presents of this kind increase the prestigé of the donor who
556 has thus acted in accordance with Bella Coola ethics, and are
431 advantageous investments since others must reciprocate. The
system is carried to such lengths that, until recent years, it
was more profitable to give away goods than to sell them. In
the case of a sale, the purchaser endeavours to give as little
as possible, whereas the recipient of a gift returns as much as

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[14] This is a modern practice, dating from the introduction of home-brew.

[539 aided by alder sticks which beat time of their own accord. From this sight *Kwatlnuslsa* became a shaman and used what he had seen when he was giving a dance of his own. His brother *Waākus* went downstream until he came to a large house at *Kākotlus*[88] outside of which stood a huge bull-head. No one was in this house and *Waākus* took possession of it.

A FRAGMENTARY ORIGIN MYTH[89]

Long ago at the time the world was first populated there were no rivers apparent, for such were confined underground in a cavern-like prison called *Nusmātllixwaix*, the approach to which was barred by a huge boulder. Not only were the rivers shut up, but with them were their occupants, including the salmon. First Eagle tried to break this barrier, but without avail; then Raven succeeded. Since then the Bella Coola River has flowed in its present course. But the *Tcawat* River was still in bondage, to the disgust of the olachen who wished to travel up it to the home of the chief, *Q̣wamaxa'lus*. The Carpenter, *utlutlulāk*, took pity on them and by breaking the barrier permitted them to reach their destination.

ORIGIN MYTHS OF OTHER TRIBES

177 As has been repeatedly stated, the Bella Coola have ob-
538 tained many prerogatives by marriages with the members of
[424] neighbouring tribes. Among these are, according to their belief, myths dealing with the peopling of distant localities. Ceremonially and sociologically, such traditions have the same importance as myths that describe Bella Coola as the final place of settlement of the first inhabitants. Accordingly, they can be given at this point.

177 In the previous section the original landing-places of some
538 of the individuals described is said to have been outside the
174 Bella Coola valley. Boas, discussing this fact (p. 122), sug-
114 gests that such myths may reflect the movements of the ancestors of the Bella Coola from the parent Salish stock. Though this is a plausible hypothesis, it is also possible that

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[88] This place could not be identified.

[89] Related by Lame Charlie.

a foreign myth, obtained by marriage, might have been altered 177 538 in the course of generations to the Bella Coola pattern, preserving as the only foreign element that of settlement at a 174 distance at the beginning of time. 114

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Owiki*[illegible]

In the beginning of time *Älquntäm* decreed that four brothers should 539.* be sent down to this earth. The eldest, whose name was *Älkälälis*, gazed down from a hole in *Nusmät·a* and told his younger brothers to wait while he went ahead to reconnoitre. He took the form of a wolf and, as soon as he had reached the earth, went far to the east, where he obtained some abalone-shells. Then he returned to *Älquntäm*'s house, left his spoil with his brothers, and again went off alone to the west. This time he brought back some copper. After this he was ready to settle, so the four assumed the form of wolves and went down to Calvert Island, *Owiki*, as the Bella Bella call it. Here they assumed human form and their wolf cloaks floated back aloft.

Älquntäm did not give them food to carry with them, but he told them they would find sea-lions waiting to be killed on Sea-lion Island. Accordingly they hunted on that island, as their descendants, the people of *Owiki*, have done to this day.

Älquntäm had given *Älkälälis* a box containing some of the cone-shaped whistles used in *susaok* dances. The three elder brothers decided that they alone should perform the *susaok* ceremonial and that, accordingly, the youngest should be kept in ignorance of the contents of the box, as uninitiated people are at the present time. He was a mere boy and his older brothers used to leave him at home when they went hunting, but they had given him the most explicit instructions not to open the carefully roped box, containing their treasures.

All went well for some time, but finally the boy yielded to temptation and opened the box. His brothers returned unexpectedly, and found him examining the whistles, with his head almost out of sight within. They decided to kill him at once. They crawled up, closed the cover on his head, and sat on the box until life was extinct. Then they laid the body on the ground before them as they sat behind the fire, and sent one of their number out to gather three small pliant sticks. When this was done they covered the corpse with eagle down and sat on the ground around it, raising and lowering the sticks as if they were throwing objects into the

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[illegible] Related by Joshua Moody.

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Bellabella NE5

BC
* 539

air. As they did so the feathers began to move, gradually rising in the air until some passed through the roof. It was as if a miniature whirlwind of gentle power were agitating them. As the three continued to use the sticks, the corpse itself began to move, finally disintegrating into the down and passing through the roof. As it did so the three said:

"Go back whence we came. *Ye ······.*"

Since that time the people of *Owiki* have disposed of their dead in this manner.

The first *Älkäläl is* brought with him from above not only the right to a *sısaok* dance, but also a Cannibal *kusiut* dance (II, p. 71) with the Bella Bella name *Łeknus*. He had, moreover, the rare privilege of performing *kusiut* and *sısaok* rites on alternate nights.

BC
[766]
[177]
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This myth is important since it embodies an account of the disappearance of a corpse through a roof, a method of removal of the dead now practised by the Bella Coola in the case of chiefs. This means is recognized by the Bella Coola to have been a recent introduction from either Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet to *Tāl·io*, and thence to Bella Coola. Judging from this account, it would appear that such a method of removal of a corpse must be considered as originally a prerogative embodied in a myth, although it has ceased to be regarded as such in Bella Coola. The man from whom this tradition was obtained said it was only one of the type current in Bella Coola, though such are common in Bella Bella. It was obtained by the marriage of one of his ancestors to a woman of *Owiki*, and was used as theme for a mourning-ceremony at the death of his sister.

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AN EARLY BELLA BELLA MYTH TRANSMITTED BY MARRIAGE TO BELLA COOLA[61]

In the beginning of time, when the population of the earth consisted only of the few people who had come down from above, *Yulätimut* went to the Bella Bella town, *Qoqoyel*, where, as was common at that period, people had no houses but were sheltered under huge trees which *Älquntäm* had placed there for that purpose. *Yulätimut* was in the form of a man at the time and fell in love with a girl of the village. Her father, *Nä·tci*, agreed to the match and the two were married. The husband never slept with his wife; when he wished children, he willed that they

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[61] Related by Joshua Moody.

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Bellabella NE5

BC 539*

to death. *'Oqwolikdımut* was the most prosperous of the brothers; so much had his wealth increased that he was able to call the people from all parts of the coast to a potlatch.

BB 539

Ālquntām had given *Tlākwakila* the honourable prerogative or duty of singing the mourning song whenever anyone died. When it was time for her to function she painted her face with a design representing a rough sea, and beat time on the floor with a stick, *łqomkıksta*, on which were jingling copper bangles. The theme was how Raven had brought her help on all occasions.

BC [424] [533]

The right to sing this song has since been preserved as a prerogative in the ancestral family descended from these four brothers. No name accompanies it, but the right must be validated by the giving of presents.

EARLY TRADITIONS HAVING THE CEREMONIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ORIGIN MYTHS

BC 539*

The following are examples of myths which are used as authorization for potlatches even though they do not deal with the actual peopling of this earth. It will be noted that they describe the adventures of early settlers, and only with non-Bella Coola. All are claimed to have been obtained by intermarriage with the descendants of individuals mentioned in them.

BC [177]

AN EARLY *ulāmx* MYTH[11]

BB 539 BC 539*

Not long after the first people had come to this earth, Raven taught an *ulāmx* chief, *Qō·pxaok* by name, how to catch black cod with hook and line. It was summer at the time, and *Qō·pxaok* began to make preparations for fishing early the following year. He instructed his wife to take three female assistants with her to the woods to collect a large quantity of cedar-bark for making the line, which had to be at least three hundred yards in length, owing to the depth at which black cod are found in Labouchere Channel. The four women returned four days later with a large amount of the material, on which they worked all summer and the following winter. Meanwhile *Qō·pxaok*, with three other men to help him, was busy manufacturing hooks of the usual British Columbia type. They were made from the knots of dead and fallen hemlocks; the interior was first cut out, bent into the desired shape, smeared with mountain

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[11] Related by Jim Pollard.

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1; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Bellabella NE5

BB 539 a person has been in contact with supernatural beings to enable him to enter.

BC x 539. *Ailsamka* told them everything, that her mother had failed to teach her how to cut up black cod, "so *Qomoqwa* sent blackfish to catch me so that I could be taught," she said. "You must be very careful to cut them up properly or trouble will come upon you."

BC BB [226] [825] The correct method, as taught by Raven, is to split the fish cleanly without severing the bones. *Qā·pxaok*'s daughter had erred by cutting the one which is equivalent in a fish to the human collar-bone. She told them of the fish that abounded in *Qomoqwa*'s house; of the red-fish, which disobeyed their mother by playing outside the house so that their stomachs were often forced out from their mouths[75] and they floated up to the surface; of *Qomoqwa* himself and his large hat; and of the other denizens of the underworld. The people listened attentively and ever after cut up black cod in the prescribed fashion, though if *Ailsamka* had not been carried off to *Qomoqwa*'s house Raven's teaching would undoubtedly have been forgotten.

Not long after his daughter's safe return *Qā·pxaok* gave a potlatch. He took for himself the name *Qomoqwa*, and at the same time reproduced in his own house as much as possible of what his daughter had described. Thus there were imitation fishes, especially the halibut, around the house, while the red-fish were shown as wooden models that could be drawn up to the roof by hidden strings representing the manner in which the fish float up to the surface of the ocean. *Qomoqwa*, himself, was shown wearing his large ball topped hat, of the type known as *biqotl*.[76]

While *Ailsamka* was under the water *Qomoqwa* had shown her *susaok* whistles, and at this potlatch they were used while the girl was concealed within the back-room as a *susaok* initiate.

BC [77] [556] This was the[77] origin of the *susaok* ceremonial, which spread in time from the *usämx* people to the Bella Coola. The name *Qomoqwa* passed to one of *Qā·pxaok*'s descendants who, when he gave a potlatch, arranged

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BC BB [75] The red-fish is an unidentified deep-sea fish which dies in shallow water through lack of pressure.

[424] [242] [532] [76] This style was always worn by *Qomoqwa* and *Alquntäm* and, as many of the first people obtained their power from one or other of these beings, the prerogative of using such hats at potlatches is quite common. They are made of cedar roots, are waterproof, and are usually painted with one of the wearer's ancestral crests. When either *Qomoqwa* or *Alquntäm* is shown on a totem-pole he is displayed with one of these hats.

[77] It will be noted that the narrator tacitly assumes any origin recorded in his myth to be the sole, or authentic one.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Bellabella NE5

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[177]

his house in imitation of *Q̇omoqwa*'s; since then any possessor of this ancient name has done likewise. From that time *Q̇omoqwa* has been a common Bella Bella *tutwinam*, and is always shown with his huge hat.

The narrator obtained this myth through the marriage of his mother's mother with an *ułāmx̣* man.

A MYTH OF SEA-LION ISLAND[78]

In the beginning of time the sea-lions came down to earth at an island outside Rivers Inlet where they bred and multiplied. The place is still known as Sea-Lion Island and hunters from all parts of the coast used to go there, as the animals were not only good food but easy to kill.

On one occasion a man had wandered apart from his companions and met a stranger who invited him home. He accepted and followed his host into a nearby house, though he had never known before that there was one in the vicinity. Once within, the door closed with a metallic crash and the rash explorer vanished from the sight of his companions, who thought that he must have been drowned. But he had really entered a sea-lion house. The animals were sitting around their fires exactly as human beings are accustomed to do; in fact, the only strange thing was that they were using human knee-caps as dishes. He listened to their conversation:

"Lend your dish to *Neqaqa*," he heard one of the animals say to a friend.

Neqaqa was an old woman who was sitting in one corner of the house.

"The dish will be too small to hold a meal," thought the mortal.

The sea-lions could understand his thoughts.

"Don't say that," said one of them. "*Neqaqa* has the power of making the food inexhaustible."

Presently one of the beasts gave the man a knee-cap dish containing a minute morsel of halibut soaked in oil.

"That won't be enough for me," he thought.

But again a sea-lion comprehended what was in his mind. It was true. The man ate and ate until he could eat no more, but the amount of food on his plate did not diminish.

He stayed with them for several months, but at last grew homesick and lonely. The sea-lions read his unvoiced desires.

"Your home is not far away," said one of them. "We will send you there whenever you like. You can travel on a wave; would you prefer one that will carry you at one sweep, at two, at three, or at four?"

The man thought of the jolt with which he would strike the beach if

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[78] Related by Steamboat Annie.

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Bellabella NE5

Other people had come down to earth at the same time as *Kāsān·a*, and among them a man and his wife who had landed at the mouth of Gas Bay. They had two daughters who, walking one day at the head of the bay, were surprised to find a house. They looked in and saw a woman, so entered, and laughed heartily to find her made of rotten wood. They kicked over the figure and the head fell into the fire and was burnt. Then they seated themselves in her place, worked diligently at the blanket and ate a large amount of the food. Towards dusk they put the figure back in place and hid themselves.

BB 539 BC 539 *

Soon *Kāsān·a* entered. He embraced the figure, called her a good wife, and thanked her for weaving so diligently and for having eaten so much of the food. Then he saw that she had burnt her head, and chided her, saying that she must take better care of herself. At this the two girls who were hiding burst out laughing and showed themselves. They suggested to *Kāsān·a* that he choose one of them for his wife; he agreed, selected the elder and married her. He built a house on a hilltop where they lived and to which he called people from far and near when he gave a potlatch.

Sısaok Origin Myths

As already stated, many *sısaok* names are believed to have come down from above with the first Bella Coola, or to have been created by them on this earth. In such cases, the *sısaok* origin myth is the same as the ancestral myth. Theoretically, names of the same type can also be received through visions in which a beholder is given his new designation by some supernatural being, or takes it from the apparition. In either case, of course, it must be duly validated by the giving of presents. Only three myths were obtained which deal solely with the acquisition of a *sısaok* prerogative. No doubt this is chiefly to be explained by the fact that most *sısaok* rites have been derived from the Bella Bella.

BC 773 551 575 [787] [556] [177] ●

THE ORIGIN OF THE *Sısaok* NAME, *Spuxpuxx̣ā·mpdimut*[80]

BC 539* 609 424

About 1840, a party of *X̣ıx̣ais* Indians[81] spent the winter in Bella Coola. Early in the spring one of them broke his leg so

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[80] Related by Joshua Moody.

[81] It was impossible to identify this tribe. According to the Bella Coola they are akin to the Carriers, but have adopted the use of totem-poles, *kusiut* dances

BC [829]

as easy as possible. Women seldom experience difficulty and 844
suffer, on the whole, less than do white mothers. It is believed [776]
that *Sxaiaxwax*, though invisible, is present on every occasion;
the rendering of assistance at childbirth is his one kindly act.

The umbilical cord was formerly cut with a mussel shell, [177]
but for many years the use of a metal knife has been customary.
The after-birth usually comes away easily, but if there is delay, [845]
hot ashes are placed around the feet and at the back of the
woman to accelerate its expulsion. It is immediately buried
or placed beneath a large tree in the forest; if burnt, the infant
will always be weakly. While one of the assistants disposes of
it, another washes the new-born child. The cloths and dishes
used for this purpose are burnt; failure to do so is believed to [826]
cause the child to become blind through a white film forming
over the eyeballs. Then the mother and midwives return to
the house with the infant, who is a source of tremendous interest
to the community. It is proper for the father to recompense
the attendants at once, in accordance with their skill
and his generosity. A woman who has had several children
often assists the daughter of a friend, then, as she gains more
experience, her reputation grows and her help is more commonly
sought. At the time of this study, 1922, the sum of [465]
$2.50 was considered suitable recompense for a fairly proficient
midwife.

A new-born child takes the breast readily and a mother 853
would be considered harsh indeed if she failed to suckle her
infant whenever it cried, since scientific hours for feeding are
not known. A child is wrapped in a shawl or a blanket and 854
carried by the mother wherever she goes; when in the house
it sprawls contentedly on the floor, unhampered by clothing.
When the umbilical cord falls, it is preserved by the mother. [846]
Soon after birth, the parents make provision for their child's
welfare by magical means (I, p. 700). The heavy infantile
death-rate of the Bella Coola cannot be attributed to lack of [165]
love or care on the part of parents, but the attention lavished is
commonly not of the kind that assists a weakly child to survive
the perils of infancy.

585 covering" or "rope fastening" for her. Within a few days or weeks, they must invite their fellow-villagers to a ceremony of some kind. If it is winter this can be a *sisaok* dance, but in summer it must be a non-sacred affair. Y's father and other relatives attend, furnished with the usual gifts. When the ceremony is over and the time has come for the distribution of presents, a herald calls out that X has no seat. If he has already been established in one he calls out that it is not firm.[1] Y at once brings forward some of the goods provided by her relatives, and places these with the goods which X's family received at the wedding and are about to give away. The whole is then divided among the guests, together with presents provided by X for Y's relatives. The actual purpose of the rite may be to obtain names for some of X's young relatives or to establish seats for them: it is immaterial to Y's people to what end they are applied. Within recent years this [182] has sometimes taken place at a *kusiut* dance, but such overlapping between the two types of ceremonial is probably an innovation due to decay.

● 177 585 About 1910 an effort was made to introduce a marriage custom of the Kwakiutl. According to the Bella Coola, among them the wife gives to her husband's relatives one or more boards studded with teeth of the sea-otter. This makes teeth for the bride, so that if she ever quarrels with another woman she can draw back her lips and shame her rival by saying:

"What can you do? You have no teeth, while I have two sets," or as many boards as have been given at her marriage.

[563] The grandson of a Fort Rupert Kwakiutl, living in Bella Coola and considered a member of the tribe, owned one of these boards and used it at the marriage of his daughter in 1914. It was first given to the mother of the bridegroom, and repurchased with a copper; then given to the bridegroom, and redeemed; finally given, and again repurchased, from the father of the groom. The woman for whom this was done can

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[1] The preferred time for this establishment is during a potlatch and the ritual connected with it has already been described (I, p. 167).

thus boast that she has three sets of teeth, but as the practice 585
has not found favour in Bella Coola, it is little to her advantage.[8] [177]

These complicated marriage rites are necessary to satisfy [556]
the pride of the two families in their origin myths, and the
need to establish the resultant children in the paths of their
ancestors. Among slaves or others who lack ancestral prerogatives, [567]
marriage is an affair of slight worth. Such persons
simply live together with little ceremony, though they always
try to give at least a feast so that there may be witnesses of
the transaction. It is immaterial whether or not they marry [581]
their own relatives, since no ancestral prerogatives are to be
transmitted.

MARRIED LIFE

Y usually lives in the house of X's father, though economic 591
circumstances may compel her husband to live in her home.
If the parents are very wealthy, a house may be built for the [556]
young people, but usually their home is one of the bedrooms
in the house of X's father; this patrilocal residence exposes Y
not only to good advice from her mother-in-law, but often to
caustic criticism. The married life of X and Y does not differ 593
materially from that of other young couples in any part of
the world, and is accordingly difficult to describe. Although
love rarely enters into the original choice of a mate, a serviceable
substitute is found in the mutual respect for each other's
ancestry, and the knowledge of the importance of the rites
performed with the aid of each other's elderly relatives. The
young people realize that marriage affects the families of
both, and accordingly accept it as a matter of course. The 855
Bella Coola are fond of children. Their birth is a matter of
sincere rejoicing, partly because it binds the two families more
closely together, but parental affection is one of the strongest
Bella Coola characteristics. The parents usually spoil their
children; infants, especially, are never chastised and rarely [861]

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[8] The board used on this occasion was purchased for the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

to a guest was regarded as amusing. In recent years, however, 837
some husbands have made a practice of renting their wives to [648]
white men. This is not considered creditable, but the Bella
Coola do not strongly condemn breaches of the moral code, 548
which are regarded as the affair of the husband alone. There [183]
is said to be a Bella Bella custom by which a wife takes as
recognized paramour one of the friends of her husband who is
thought not only to know of this but to receive the presents
which the lover gives his wife. The two continue to be friends
and often hunt together; in fact, their mutual interest in the
woman is a bond between them. No trace of this practice [171]
could be found in Bella Coola.

POLYGAMY

It has thus far been assumed that the Bella Coola are 595
monogamous, an assumption correct only since the period of 556
white dominance. Previous to that time it was quite common
for wealthy men to have three, four, or more wives. *Potles*, the [177]
important chief so often mentioned, had nine, ten, or eleven,
the exact number is not known. A man wishing to take a
second wife could do so in the manner already described,
although the period of engagement was usually much shorter,
and working for his parents-in-law was not expected. The
reason for this was obvious to the Bella Coola. None but a
chief of importance could afford more than a single wife, and
such an one could not be expected to demean himself by
working for anyone else. Besides, parents were glad to have
their daughters married to a great chief, so willingly omitted
the customary period of servitude. Few attained the distinction of having several wives. As far as could be learnt, [162]
the number of the sexes seems always to have been about
equal, in itself a check to polygyny in a community where
practically every adult had a wife. A number of males were
always slain in war, and it is to be assumed that polygyny was
made possible only through the surplus of women thus caused.
The great majority of men had a single wife, some chiefs had

ciety. These are given several times, serving to recall the 533
ceremonies in which the chief took part during his life. At 575
intervals, the new song is repeated and *sisaok* members of the 766
audience join in as they become familiar with the words. Frequently one or more relatives of the deceased dance in his [535]
stead during the singing. The details of this rite, especially of the songs used at it, differ considerably according to the actions of the person during life; if a mighty chief, the donor of many potlatches, this fact is described in the song, whereas only an incident from the ancestral myth can be used for a young *sisaok*. If some of his female relatives are professional [767]
wailers, they function during the ceremony. In all circumstances, the rite aims to comfort the grieving kinsmen, an end which it usually achieves.

As already described, *sisaok* ceremonial was in a state of 575
transition at the time of the coming of the white man. Pre- 766
vious to that date, a spectacular funeral prerogative had been
adopted from Rivers Inlet,[4] which has since been claimed by a 177
number of *sisaok*. All the Bella Coola know of this ceremony, 424
and most of them desire to perform it at the death of a dearly [178]
loved relative; at the present time this is possible owing to the slight regard paid to prerogatives, but it is certain that a few years ago it would have been forbidden to most people, and that it was never a universal Bella Coola rite.

When this rite is performed, the corpse is allowed to remain 575
in its coffin for at least one night after the day on which 766
Mulakila came and the *sisaok* songs were sung. Meanwhile
the carpenters have prepared an imitation body, usually of 532
rags on a light framework, and a wooden representation of the deceased's crest. Since this figure is to come through the roof and carry aloft the corpse, stout hooks are attached to its feet. In theory, the bird or animal disguise used by the first ancestor

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[4] One old Bella Coola stated that this prerogative was obtained during his own life-time from a Rivers Inlet chief who moved to *Tal'io*. It is impossible to state accurately when this ritual was adopted by the Bella Coola, though it is unquestionably of recent origin.

thrown on it. One rather philosophic old man suggested that in this way the soul could easily return to *Nusmāt·a*. It is possible that this means of disposal was carried out in former times, but no informant had actually seen it practised. The Bella Coola state that cremation is carried out by the Kitlope[*] and the Carriers. On the morning after a burning, young men of the former tribe rush to the spot and smear their faces with the semi-charred bones, amid much shouting. The Carriers are said to stand with their bodies inclined over the burning corpse and to smear on their faces any grease exuded from it. The accuracy of these statements is very doubtful, and can have no bearing on the reported practice of cremation among the Bella Coola.

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The bodies of rich or poor, chiefs, commoners, or slaves, all are buried in a similar manner though with differences in the complexity of ritual. Nor is any different method practised for criminals, murdered people, or those committing suicide. It is believed that in case of self-destruction the body cannot separate into its elements and reach *Nusmāt·a*; that part which becomes the ghost is able to go to the land below, but neither spirit nor life can ascend. According to one man, who may, however, have been affected by Christian influence, this is because *Alquntām* decrees the length of life and any wilful shortening is insulting to him. Suicide is rare among the Bella Coola and four cases only were heard of. One woman killed herself in shame at having accidentally set fire to a village, another because her husband was unduly jealous, and two men through bladder stricture.

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[775]

On the whole, Bella Coola methods for disposal of the dead have altered but little since the coming of the white man. The change from sub-aerial exposure to interment was probably not due to foreign influence although the introduction of metal shovels has facilitated the digging of graves and probably hastened the movement. A change in posture has, however, taken place. In former times, a corpse was always buried

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[*] If not at present, at least within the memory of elderly people.

177 764 squatting, now it is customary to use the extended position. It is impossible to state whether this is the direct result of white teaching, or whether the ease with which large boxes can now be made has led to interment at full length.

RITES FOLLOWING DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

768 Interment of the corpse does not end the ceremonial necessitated by a death in the community. As already described, some of the clothing and utensils of the dead person are burned during the funeral, but all are not destroyed at that time. The proportion kept for future treatment is immaterial, nor is there any established usage concerning the type of object reserved. During the days following the funeral, relatives of the deceased carefully gather his clothing, cooking utensils, rifles, and all other articles which have been his personal property or used exclusively by him. On the fourth day, these are taken to the cemetery by his immediate family, accompanied by as many of their friends as wish to show their sympathy. A fire is kindled near the grave and on it is deposited whatever can be burnt; other objects are either cast into the flames or piled near at hand (see Plate 17). It is most important that every article belonging to the deceased should be disposed of in this way. There are two reasons for this. First, it is considered indecent to use the possessions of a dead person; they would have the effect of poison on anyone doing so. Secondly, the ghost of the deceased receives goods that are burnt or deposited on the grave [775] [753] four days after the funeral. If deprived of what belongs to him, a ghost punishes the offenders by causing sickness. 178 768 Occasionally a new rifle, or some other treasured possession, is kept by a relative or friend; this is contrary to the established custom, but is justified by considering the article to be a gift from the deceased or a memento of him. No one would accept such a legacy unless he felt sure that the dead man

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entertained such kindly sentiments towards him that he would [178]
be glad to have his friend receive it. 768
In recent years the number of incombustible objects has 177
increased enormously with the introduction of metal utensils, 775
gramophones, and other things obtained from white traders.
Although these are considered to be of use to the ghost, and
must be carefully placed near the grave, they can be publicly
exchanged for others by a relative. The sentiments expressed
on such occasions are that the ghost, though aware of what is
taking place, does not resent an open transfer; and that it is
unnecessary to deposit the equivalent of what has been removed.
There is undoubtedly a vague idea that the ghost
uses, not the actual object, but its essence, which is received
by the deposition. It must be emphasized that this feeling
has not become crystallized to such a state that it is customary
to replace goods laid on the grave with others. Such an exchange
is a rare event and would cause animosity if carried [578]
out by anyone except a near relative.

Sometimes a dying person requests that a house be erected 764
over his grave, a common Bella Bella custom. This is built [763]
immediately after the funeral and articles that cannot be burnt [177]
are placed within it instead of being piled on the ground. The
sorrowing relatives may choose to erect a picket fence around
the spot, but no other mark for the grave is put up until a
memorial potlatch several years after death. House or fence
soon falls into decay and rarely an effort is made to repair
either. Nor is the grave itself disturbed. Cow-parsnips, [262]
which are much used for food, grow frequently in cemeteries,
but no one would gather the shoots that rise above a grave;
they are food belonging to the dead person. The white man [245]
has taught the Bella Coola how to plant apple-trees and these [177]
are often set out in graveyards, though the fruit is allowed to
fall to the ground for the benefit of those interred beneath.
The Bella Bella are said formerly to have replaced at intervals 765
the coffin containing a dead person, but this seems never to
have been a Bella Coola practice. Indeed, a grave is never

765 religious rites affecting the whole community. In spite of the prohibitions enforced, it is said that a widow or widower usually becomes fat after the death of a partner. This observation agrees with several instances known to the writer, but whether it is of universal application is doubtful, although the Bella Coola emphatically state that this is the case.

MEMORIAL RITES

THE MEMORIAL POTLATCH

177 +556 769 [622] The most important, as well as the most complicated, mourning rite is the memorial potlatch, *slmanik*, for which so much wealth is required that it can be carried out by chiefs alone. This ceremony, being associated with *sisaok* rites, has altered enormously in form within recent years. Before the introduction of cone-shaped whistles and other foreign elements, it was almost indistinguishable from an ordinary potlatch and the two were occasionally combined, having as central feature the return of the deceased in the form of his crest. Among the tribes of the outer coast, especially the Bella Bella, the two types of ceremonial were apparently distinct, and as the Bella Coola adopted more and more of their neighbours' *sisaok* ritual, they followed their custom in this respect as well. It is said that a certain *Nuskila*, uncle of a man about sixty years of age in 1922, was the last to combine both. The Bella Bella felt that he had thereby committed a ritual error for which he would be punished; within a few years he died, and the Bella Coola assumed that this was due to the unanimous expectation of his death on the part of the Bella Bella. From that time onwards, the Bella Coola were careful to separate features belonging to potlatches from those of memorial potlatches.

[648] After a comparatively few years, the white man's domination had increased so enormously on the central coast that the potlatch, including both types, was prohibited by law. Owing to the consequent difficulty of performing complicated

rites, the Bella Coola were again led to carry out at a single gathering features which properly belonged to several. To combine the memorial potlatch with the potlatch, being a return to an earlier custom, presented no serious difficulties and was consequently widely adopted. The Kimsquit people, moreover, seem never to have adopted the clear Bella Bella differentiation, and as the rapid decrease in population threw them in ever closer contact with the Bella Coola, their influence tended to lessen differences between the two ceremonials. 177 556 769

At the present time, a memorial potlatch is almost identical with an ordinary potlatch in practice. The same rites are often carried out at both; each varies considerably, and when the distinctive elements are omitted the two become indistinguishable. None the less, they are never confused in the minds of the participants. The house where a potlatch, *lim*, is taking place is called a [illegible], that where a memorial potlatch, [illegible], is occurring, a [illegible]. In giving invitations and making comments, heralds are careful not to refer to the ritual under the wrong name; in fact, it may be said that the chief difference between the two is in the minds of the donor and his guests. Sociologically, both are considered to be on a par. Equal wealth is required, and each can be performed only by a chief, both on account of the expenditure involved and owing to the difficulties in procedure which are thought to be too great for a lesser man to surmount. 556* 769 [illegible] [illegible]

Difference in the donor's motives is usually sufficient to separate a memorial potlatch from an ordinary one. The latter is given by a chief desirous of increasing his prestige by lavish expenditure, for which one of the excuses is the validation of the appearance of a dead relative. Although this is the central feature, so many other rites are performed that it is sometimes obscured or may, indeed, be omitted entirely. On the other hand, a memorial potlatch occurs as soon as possible after the death of a father, mother, or other dearly loved kinsman, and it is clear to all that the donor's reasons for the rite are to commemorate the deceased, and to console himself and his imme- [illegible]

(see Plate 13). So, too, wooden representations of coppers 211
are often affixed to an upright post. Not only men are com- 556 *
memorated in this way, a father often places over his daughter's
grave pictures of the goods used to redeem her from her 764
husband; wooden plaques representing coppers are commonly 769
used for this purpose.[16] Such symbols are usually cut down [592]
after a year owing to a vague feeling that it is not proper for
them to remain standing too long. The function of this type
of memorial is to mark the social status of the dead person as
judged by the riches given away by him, or on his behalf,
during his life-time. With the introduction of writing, the [177]
Bella Coola have been quick to recognize it as an easy means
for recording the wealth distributed by a chief. In conse- [212]
quence, signs are often painted and erected, giving in figures
a statement of his financial transactions. Another recent
introduction has been the tombstone. One of these is often
set up with the name of the deceased carved on it to perpetuate
his memory, and a representation of his crest to record his [592]
ancestral history. Such a memorial combines the functions
of the first and third types.

As the carpenters labour at the memorials, other arrange- 556 *
ments for the ceremony proceed apace. As at a potlatch, the 769
fellow-villagers of the donor may be invited separately to his
house for the performance of sacred dances, but this feature is [576]
often omitted, especially if there are no neophytes to be ini-
tiated. The mask to be worn by the deceased relative must
be prepared in secret; or if several are to be commemorated
at the single ceremony, one must be made ready for each. As
the time draws near, envoys are dispatched to invite foreign [202
guests if it has been decided to have strangers present. This 204]
has been customary for many years, but during the period
when no feature of the potlatch was allowed at a memorial
potlatch, the latter was sometimes carried out in the presence of
the donor's fellow-villagers alone. The actual departure of the

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[16] The National Museum of Canada, at Ottawa, has specimens of these wooden coppers.

only for a chief, can be employed for a dead child. In this case, the chorus describes the efforts of the parents to incorporate the deceased in the traditions of their ancestors, and the number of times he had been ceremonially married. The text of one used a few years ago is:

"We said, Hail! *[illegible]* [the child's crest was the Sun] when she was born. What more could we have done? Why did she leave us?"

The text may refer to the prerogative of employing mourners, as in the following:

"Come ye professional mourners, help me to give voice to my lamentations."

The tunes of mourning songs are usually remembered from year to year, and the singers may merely alter words to make an old song applicable. In some cases, such compositions are changed so slightly that they become virtually possessions of an ancestral family, and may thus be preserved for generations until even the history of the names embodied is forgotten. [424] Occasionally, ancient relationship between two such groups can be deduced from the occurrence of the same names in their mourning songs, although all traditions of intermarriage have been forgotten. [174] There is considerable difference between the tunes of *[illegible]* and *[illegible]*; in fact, this distinction may be more important than the themes, since the latter do not invariably conform to the types just described. A few items of ancestral history may be incorporated into a song dealing primarily with the actions of the deceased and vice versa. Sometimes four of one type are used, sometimes two of each. Much thought is devoted to the compositions, the singers meeting every day to try over and improve one another's efforts. The tunes, long and complicated, require much practice, since any error would be an admission of gross inefficiency. These daily rehearsals take place in the donor's house and he is required to provide food for the singers. It is not uncommon to use a song of Bella Bella origin, since the Bella Coola admit that members of that tribe excel in compositions of this type.

Such an adoption occurs only when the deceased was the owner of a Bella Bella myth and the song in question had been used to mourn a real or fictitious relative. It is contrary to custom to use the tune or words of a song not composed for a member of the deceased's ancestral family. 556* 764 [833] [777]

The actual delivering of invitations by the envoys to the desired guests does not differ from the manner already described, except that they are asked "to come to visit the sick [donor]." The significance is, of course, that the mourner's condition is that of a patient. To indicate the reason of their visit, guests at a memorial potlatch always wear a little dyed cedar-bark around their heads. [209] [242]

On arrival, the first party of foreign guests is conducted to the donor's house, where they make themselves comfortable in the section allotted to them by the heralds. An elderly Bella Coola chief who is a famous orator has been asked by the donor to speak, and he rises to do so as soon as his fellow-villagers have entered and taken their places. No set phrases are used, but the speaker usually begins by reminding all present of the way in which their ancestors were created in Nusmat·a, and how all must return thither. It is an occasion on which eloquence is essential, and the speaker delights in using as many archaic words and rhetorical expressions as possible, with constant references to religious beliefs and ancient history as recorded in mythology. Then he speaks of the death which is the occasion of the ceremony. If the deceased were an old man, he is referred to by a special term not in common usage, *[illegible]*, which implies wisdom and respect as well as extreme age. The orator states that he has fallen, using the term *[illegible]*, normally applied to the thunderous crash of some mighty tree. He speaks of a young chief as *[illegible]*, short-lived, a person who has been burned down by the supernatural Carpenters. He continues by describing the works of the deceased, the number of potlatches he gave and the manner in which his name was known to many tribes. Finally he tells of the donor's grief, and of how this "sickness" has been alle- 537 556* 769 [195]

556 767 departed. A few days later the same ritual was carried out again, with a similar lavish distribution of food. This was often done at intervals of two or three days for several weeks, depending on how much food the donor was prepared to use. The amount required was so great that the rite was considered, in some ways, more difficult than a potlatch.

[178] As already mentioned, however, it became customary in the last century to incorporate features of the ordinary potlatch into one of a memorial nature. In such cases the first [589] singing of the mourning songs with display of marks by the professional mourners is as just recorded, but there is no recalling of the guests merely to listen once more to the songs. Instead, the ritual differs but slightly from that of an ordinary potlatch as already described (I, p. 182). An occasion is found to conduct the guests to the memorial-posts erected, and to in- [178] form them of the significance of the designs depicted. This same practice has been continued since the introduction of tombstones, and the meaning of the writing upon them is interpreted. The story of the deceased in the form of his crest, and the subsequent use of a copper, is the same as already recorded. This is frequently followed by the singing of a *sisauk* mourning [535] song if one of the near relatives owns this prerogative of foreign origin. If so, he walks slowly around the fire in a wide circle, shaking his rattle, and singing, unaccompanied. Most, if not all [177] of these songs, are in the Bella Bella language and the right to [925] use one has in every case been obtained through intermarriage with a member of that tribe. At intervals, heralds call out:

"Listen to the chief's lament."[39]

When presents are distributed to validate the whole ceremony, mention is always made of the different features for which they are given. As at a potlatch, the most important is the return of the dead, but at a memorial potlatch another [214] essential is the display of the memorial-posts. These have been [784] carved, painted, and set up, but are worthless unless validated

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[39] There is no reason why this should not take place at a potlatch, but no instance of its performance was noted.

764 159 Meanwhile the rest of the population was sitting near the coffin. They wore no special dress or other mark of grief. Samuel King and some of his relatives had brought bundles containing Jessie's clothing, pots, pans, and other personal possessions, which they set down near the coffin. About two [533] [177] o'clock the band gathered and began to play, the favourite selection being "Annie Laurie." This went on for some time after the return of the chiefs from Captain Schooner's house. They had decided that *Tál·io* Jenny, one of Captain Schooner's distant relatives, should carry the fire in front of the body. When all was ready she lit a bundle of rags, placed it in a pot, and set off for the cemetery, followed by all in a straggling and orderless procession. Some strong young men bore the coffin, for Jessie must have weighed over two hundred pounds; some brought tools for digging the grave; others took the bundles of clothing. There was no fixed allotment of tasks; a man or woman carried anything or nothing according to his or her wish.

The cemetery is situated about fifty yards behind the old village of *Q̣ōmqo·ts*. The heavy timber has all been cut away and second growth has sprung up everywhere except around the newer graves. Captain Schooner had decided that his daughter should be buried near several of her relatives, and it was to this spot that Jenny led the procession. She set the pot down near the site of the grave, and the coffin likewise was placed on the ground nearby. Captain Schooner, Jim Pollard, and a few of the other old men chose the exact situation and a number of the young men began to dig. Jenny, and other women, added pieces of Jessie's clothing to the fire so that a constant small blaze was kept up. As the grave was being dug [533] the band performed at intervals, while the women sat wailing near the fire. Other men and women were seated on the ground or walking around idly near the grave, talking but [852] seldom laughing, while the Carriers were a little farther away. Children were playing around. The grave was dug about five feet deep, in shape corresponding to the coffin, but orientation

day after the funeral, the relatives of the dead person burn the 775
remainder of his property, which passes through the earth to
the ghost for whom it is intended. Ghost-singers have taken [768]
their places and begin to beat out music, and presently the
recently deceased appears, stepping backwards from the backroom
in time to the beating of sticks. He is at once surrounded
by his fellows, each anxious to learn the latest news of relatives
still alive. This dance is really to welcome the new arrival,
and takes place irrespective of his rank. After it has been
held, it is hopeless to attempt to rescue a dead person, although
that has been done several times during the four days immediately
succeeding death.

Only shamans are able to peer down into the land of the [756]
dead, though stories are told of inadvertent visits to it in
relatively recent times. Human beings are prevented from
visiting their dead relatives, but the latter, being supernatural,
can come to the earth at will. They are always dreaded, and
anyone who hears their whistling or their tongueless chatter
cowers in his house, and hopes they will pass by. Shamans [756]
can understand their speech and to them the dead explain their
mission. If the relations of a dead person have failed to burn [768]
all his personal possessions, he returns to earth to inform them,
through a shaman, of the omission. The house is scoured for
anything left and it is burnt at once near the grave, though no
one knows how a ghost would punish failure to give him his
property. Thoughtful people, remembering the scarcity of [264]
food in the land below, frequently give presents to their dead
relatives by casting small morsels of food on the side of the [772]
central fire nearest the front door, beneath which is a passage
to the lower regions. The food becomes magnified as it falls
down this, so that even small fragments are sufficient to feed
many hungry ghosts. Since the introduction of metal stoves, [177]
it has become customary to throw food into a fire kindled for
the purpose in the cemetery; the most suitable time is at dusk,
although people are always afraid that spectres may be prowling
around at that hour. If sufficient presents are not given [756]

539 hurry back. After as short a visit as they thought polite, they asked to
775 be ferried back across the river and retraced their steps to the cave where
they had slept the previous night. It was dusk by this time and they lay down to sleep. During the night the cave rotated on itself once more, and in the morning they were delighted to find themselves in the mountains above the Dean River.

This was the first time that anyone had penetrated to the land of ghosts, and the friends of the four brothers were intensely interested in the account of their experiences. It was October at the time, but they explained that it was late winter in the land below. No one knows why or how the four brothers had received the power to pass into the land of ghosts, although it is assumed that *Alquntam* must have granted them the boon.

A Kitlobe Story of a Descent to the Land of Ghosts

● 179 The following story was related by an elderly man who had
539 heard it about ten years previously from three Christian
775 Kitlobe who had been his fellow-passengers on a steamship
between Vancouver and Bella Coola. It is not a Bella Coola
story, although it has been circulated among members of the
tribe as an interesting tale. The facts recorded in it do not
agree entirely with their beliefs, but that is a matter of no
[829] consequence to the Bella Coola who, having their own knowl-
edge, consider it quite natural that the other tribes should have
other concepts.

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775 About one year before the story was told, a Kitlobe woman had died, leaving her husband and one grown-up daughter to mourn her. The husband refused to be comforted, and used to fall into a paroxysm of weeping whenever he saw any of his wife's clothing or goods. About a week after her funeral he took her clothing to the cemetery intending to burn it, but instead sat down on the ground to weep. Presently he noticed a passage beside him, down which he crawled until he came to a flat, rich land more prosperous than this world, where he wandered along aimlessly till he heard the sound of singing and hid himself behind a clump of bushes. There seemed to be five or six groups of people in different sections of the country, and the song was taken up in succession by each group. When he had remained in his hiding-place for some time, two people in new, white clothes passed so close to him that he could hear the rustling of their garments. He recognized one of the

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human beings, knock crumbs to the ground with minute hooks, and punish by beating with the same barbs anyone who offends them by picking up such morsels. The girl heard her father say that in future he would be more careful to throw fragments of food on the fire, since he now knew that these were not only desired by the dead, but were necessary to them. Her mother must have asked whether they had eaten all the dried salmon, for her father answered:

"No. We have been so grief-stricken at your death that we have eaten hardly anything."

After a pause the girl heard her father say "All right," and judged that her mother had said she would go to get some. In a moment the door opened, though no one appeared, and the thoroughly awed girl heard the sound of light footsteps. She saw the ropes with which the box was bound unloosened without visible agent, and the salmon piled in a neat heap on the floor, then the bundle seemed to rise of its own accord and pass out through the front-door without human aid. After an interval the father appeared and asked his daughter where her mother had gone. The frightened girl told what she had seen, and both were amazed and puzzled. At last it dawned on the grieving husband that his wife must have stolen the food for the benefit of her friends below and had returned to her new home.

The husband, now twice bereaved, was filled with woe at this second loss, which was unexpected as his wife had said nothing of her intention of leaving. After deliberating for several days, he descended again to the land of ghosts, heedless of his daughter's appeals. He concealed himself in the same spot as before, and soon heard singing; but this time the words and tune were different and he listened intently. To his horror, the theme was of the ingenuity of a dead woman who had revisited her home, deceived her husband, and brought away a supply of dried salmon for the use of the ghosts. He recognized that the song must refer to his own wife and, grieved and humiliated, he returned home forthwith. He warned his daughter to say nothing of what had occurred and she obeyed his instructions, not wishing their shame to become known. A few days later, however, a number of friends gathered to console the husband; he became intoxicated, told the guests his adventures, and taught them the songs used by the dead.

A Carrier Story of an Ascent to the Land of the Dead

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The following, like the last, is not a Bella Coola story. It is one known to a number of Kimsquit and deserves inclusion

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Carrier NE7

among Bella Coola tales if only for the reason that stories of foreign origin, when told sufficiently often, tend to be considered indigenous and the facts recorded in them accepted and incorporated into Bella Coola belief. This factor is undoubtedly responsible for many conflicting elements in their theology. The following story has every indication of Christian influence but is not less interesting on that account, as illustrating the process of assimilating new ideas into mythology.

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About 1870, *Mimaiyu*,* a [illegible] Indian from Ootsa Lake, and his brother were trapping beaver in one of the lakes of the interior. They were both good hunters and every morning killed at least one of the animals. *Mimaiyu* was a strong, apparently healthy man, but one morning he fell dead. His grief-stricken brother was puzzled to know what to do with the body. It was winter, and the heavy snow and frozen earth made interment impossible, while lack of fire-wood made cremation out of the question, so he merely tied up the corpse to await better weather. Meanwhile *Mimaiyu* had gone aloft, where he saw a huge house containing many rooms. He went to the first of these, where a man was sitting with a huge book before him.

"What do you want?" asked the man.

Mimaiyu did not answer and his questioner continued:

"Your name is not here. Why did you come?"

This happened in one room after another, for *Mimaiyu* tried them all. Finally, at the end of the house, he came to the seat of the chief, who said to him:

"You have made a mistake. The time for you has not yet come. If you want to stay, you can do so by drinking this."

He showed *Mimaiyu* a glass containing a green liquid.

"If not," continued the chief, "you must drink this," and he showed him another glass filled with a white liquid.

Throughout this speech *Mimaiyu* had heard a strange rumbling and wondered what could be its cause. Happening to glance out through a window at the rear of the house, he saw a huge, metal ball constantly revolving and giving forth the rumbling sound as it did so. From within

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*This story was related by Jim Pollard, an elderly Kimsquit, who stated that as a young man he had known *Mimaiyu*, who was about fifty years older than he. This tale is interesting as showing the manner in which a [illegible] account can become accepted as fact within a short space of time. *Mimaiyu* must have been a man of imaginative temperament who was convinced that he had experienced incidents told to him by some white man.

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Carrier NE7

B came wailing voices and at intervals an agonized face appeared at one
C of the many small openings in the surface of the sphere. The supreme
being, for the chief was none other, told him that those within the ball
539 were evil persons, those who had committed theft or murder during life.
775 *Māmaiyu*, though innocent of these crimes, decided that he would be
safer on earth and asked for the glass with the white liquid, which he
hastily drained. The supreme deity inquired what present he would
like as token of the visit, and he requested a beaver-axe, that is, one with
a crooked handle such as beaver use.[*]

At the moment when *Māmaiyu* drank the white liquid, his brother saw his body move very slightly. He hastily warmed some mountain goat grease and with this rubbed his face and mouth. At first he was unable to speak, owing to his muscles having become rigid from the cold, but they loosened gradually so that he was able to recount his experiences. *Māmaiyu*'s axe, being of supernatural origin, was invisible to all human beings, but this did not affect its potency, and from that time onwards the owner could catch beaver as easily as other men could catch salmon.

B The information contained in this story does not cor-
●177 respond at all with Bella Coola beliefs concerning the fate
539 of the dead. They tell it, and assume that such experi-
775 ences are normal for dead *Xuxais*, though unknown to their
own people.

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[825] [*] The Bella Coola know that beaver must have axes of this kind to accomplish their work, although white people, deceived by the invisibility of them, believe the animals use their teeth. *Māmaiyu* received an axe of this type.

The explanation of these manifestations of the supernormal, 787*
for such they are considered to be, lies in the conviction that 811
every activity of the mind is due to supernatural causation,
the functioning of the spirit. In the round of daily life there [828]
are always good and bad incidents; the person who wakes
expecting to meet one or other before nightfall recognizes the [774]
fulfilment of his premonition in some small occurrence, and
narrates it to his fellows as proof of what he had told them in
the morning. In case of some major event, such as death or
disaster, the Bella Coola assume that some previous indication
must have been given. Looking back after the event, a man
easily persuades himself that he "felt" a warning, and is more
than ever convinced that his spirit, the cause of his thoughts, [774]
has supernatural ability.

Conviction in the near presence of the supernatural has had 177 ●
somewhat surprising results with regard to Christian Bella
Coola. A man converted in middle life carries all the fervour 787*
and realism of the old religion with him to the new, and feels 781
thoroughly familiar with the atmosphere of the Old Testament. 797
Visitations, such as therein described, are similar to those
experienced by his fathers and himself, and he scorns the white
man who questions their literal accuracy. He continues to
hear the voices of supernatural beings, and to interpret mental [828]
pictures as visions, but he ascribes them to the beings of the
white man's religion. The following is a rather striking illustration of this point:

A number of years ago a devout Christian, who may be 159
designated X, was a patient in the hospital at Bella Bella. In
the same ward was a young Bella Bella lad whose sickness 177
refused to yield to treatment. X, becoming interested in his 787*
neighbour, began to ponder about his condition, until presently 781
he felt convinced that the sufferer would be better by seven
o'clock the following morning, and told him so. A marked 797
improvement was noticeable by the time predicted, but the
white doctor foolishly (according to X) gave his patient some

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●177 more medicine and he became worse. The same thing happened
* 787 on the following day. The sick boy grew steadily worse until,
nine days later, he felt that he was dying and asked X to help
781 him.

797 "No," replied X, "I am no doctor. But you will be all right. I see Holy Ghost, Holy Spirit, Baptism, and Believe-it [Faith?] by your bed. Repent and you will be saved."

X added that the Bella Bella saw and repented before his death so that he has undoubtedly been saved.

X is a friend of the writer's and a man with whom he worked for a number of months and whom he feels that he knows intimately. He is almost invariably truthful, and any falsehoods he uses are clumsy and easily detected. In this case there is no doubt but that he believes he saw these four figures as four white human beings. He was in an emotional condition at the time, hoping and expecting to see something of the kind. In earlier days he would have seen supernatural beings of the Bella Coola pantheon with equal conviction. On quite another occasion, when he was preaching, the same man felt what seemed to be a heavy drop of water fall on his head. He was in the open at the time and, looking up, was surprised to find nothing from which it could have fallen. He realized that it must have been power which had come to him, and forthwith he began to preach as he had never preached before. He expected supernatural assistance, and the belief that it had been granted to him undoubtedly strengthened his efforts.

* 787 All Bella Coola are not equally liable to visions and mental
781 visitations. Some, such as X, are constantly experiencing
them, whereas others of more stolid disposition do not feel the
159 presence of the supernatural to the same extent. None the less,
beings of the other world are constantly around them and,
before the introduction of Christianity, it is unlikely that any
individual passed through life without coming in contact with
some manifestation of the supernatural. Consequently, stories
* 787 descriptive of this are intelligible to the Bella Coola, bizarre

though they may be to the white man. It is hoped that the preceding illustrations, drawn from recent times, will explain the mental attitude of the Bella Coola better than incidents from folk-lore of the distant past. 787

Disregarding thoughts which, since they are caused by the spiritual elements of the human body, are ever present, relations with the supernatural may be divided into the following categories: [828] [774]

(1) Appearance of supernatural beings from which neither good nor bad results follow. Strictly speaking, every fleeting sight of a supernatural being belongs to this category, but it will be convenient to describe only experiences of a peculiar kind, such as the Bella Coola call *qua akilanadjatlais*. Usually manifestations of the supernatural have certain effects; consequently, there are relatively few incidents of this kind recorded.

(2) Supernatural aid vouchsafed to a man or a woman in distress. There are many tales illustrating this, which are told and retold to the children. In most cases the assistance is given to one who has undeservedly, according to Bella Coola concepts, fallen into misfortune.

(3) Supernatural good luck. This may be obtained by anyone, and consists of the acquisition of a supernatural object to attract, not only fish and animals, as if it were a potent bait, but money and goods as well. [777] [224] [226]

(4) Acquisition of shamanistic power, with or without the ability to cure the sick. This may be received from one of two sources: [756]

(*a*) *Thinápilita a* or some other supernatural being.

(*b*) Ghosts, which are likewise supernatural. [775]

(5) Obtaining prophetic powers direct from the supreme god. There are few instances of this, and none that is ascribed to a remote period. It is possible that all examples of this kind can be attributed to indirect Christian influence. [777]

(6) Obtaining power from a supernatural being localized in a particular spot. This usually takes the form of summer when [756]

receive such pretty objects, restores the sick, though she does 755 *
not herself come to do so. 756

The shaman now sends a young man out to fill his curing [762]
basin. When this is done, he carries it around the fire, once,
sunwise, and sets it down beside the patient. The practitioner 755
drinks from it, and casts some eagle down on the surface. If 756 *
it revolves sunwise, it signifies that the patient will soon re- 789
cover, and the shaman proceeds to wash him with the water;
if it remains stationary or revolves in the opposite direction,
it is an unfavourable sign, and he throws the water out of the
door. More is then brought, and the procedure repeated until
it revolves sunwise. Although no Bella Coola can state defin-
itely how this is performed, the consensus of opinion is that it
is done by twisting the box slightly.

Shamans are not the only ones who make offerings to
Tlitcäplitäna. It is generally known that she likes to receive 755
things, so a sick person often throws on the fire a little grease, 782
some of his own clothing, or other objects of small value. By
so doing he hopes that she may appear, or that the sickness
will vanish as the object is consumed in the flames. A person 751
in good health sometimes makes like offerings, either on the 782
central house fire or on one built behind the house, at the same
time asking *Tlitcäplitäna* to help guard him.

(v) In recent years some shamans have been in the habit 755
of displaying the sickness in visible form; this is said to have 756 *
been a practice adopted from the Bella Bella. After throwing
himself on top of the patient the shaman sucks violently, and [777]
produces such an object as a toad, a snail, or a stick of wood,
which he claims to have been the cause of the malady. This
has, of course, been concealed throughout in his mouth. This
belief is fostered by the undoubted skill of some shamans in
extracting such foreign substances as a salmon bone, wedged
in a patient's throat, or a sliver. In such cases he first works
with his fingers to force the object near the surface. It is
believed that some shamans are so powerful they can draw
forth foreign substances by the mere application of their stick

755 to the part affected. In such a case the object, a toad for
* 756 example, becomes visible at the end of the staff. Conjuring is
employed to do this, and often a tuft of dyed cedar-bark is
used, which makes the deception still easier. Shamans are
very expert in such matters. It is said that when two rival
shamans once disputed about their prowess, one of them cast
his stick on the ground and it became a snake, whereupon the
other did likewise; and his became a toad which hopped after
● [177] the snake. The Bella Coola find biblical parallels for such
revelations of power in the transformation of Aaron's rod, and
the appearance of fire on Mount Carmel.

Shamanistic Ceremonies

554 In addition to his professional abilities, a shaman has also
* 756 certain social prerogatives. As has been mentioned, many
787 shamans lack the power to cure, but they may have seen some
feat during a dream, or during a visitation from *Thicäplilān a*.
It enhances a man's social prestige if he can graphically display
whatever he has observed. It follows that the rites about to
be described are often, perhaps usually, performed by a person
unable to cure the sick, but it must be remembered that to the
Bella Coola there is no social difference between a shaman who
can cure with the aid of a basin, and one who lacks this power.
Each has merely received a different gift from his supernatural
benefactor. There seems little doubt that a man of imaginative
* 756 temperament frequently invents a feat of this type, or
787 rather that he ponders over one until he either dreams of it,
or imagines himself to have done so. Certainly, after he has
performed such a rite, he deludes himself into believing that
he has had supernatural authorization for it. Conjuring feats
performed long ago by shamans, feats practised by the members
of other tribes, personal inventions, either actually or
theoretically dreamed of, all these are among the sources from
which shamanistic dances are derived. It follows that almost
* 756 anyone who has the necessary skill is able to perform, provided
556 that he has sufficient food to validate the ceremony. Thus this

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DIRECT REVELATIONS FROM THE SUPREME GOD

As has been noted, a shaman receives his power from one or other supernatural being, not from the supreme god, *Alquntäm*, himself. Yet instances are known to the Bella Coola of such benefactions, and to a visionary so endowed the term *endzom* is applied. In every case a revelation of this type is considered to have taken place comparatively recently. In view of the manner in which biblical tales, introduced by Europeans, have spread from tribe to tribe in distorted form, it is not improbable that all such examples of the direct appearance of the supreme being can be traced to this source. Having heard from the white man of cases where the deity has appeared to man, the Indians would be only too ready and willing to accept and transmit such a tale, since it belongs to their general culture pattern. In the example here given, the instructions about dissemination of the knowledge imparted in the vision, as well as the claimed foreknowledge of European houses, strongly suggests a post-white man origin. Further, once the concept of the possible appearance of the supreme god is accepted—and no Bella Coola would question the accuracy of accounts heard from others—it would be a simple matter to attribute the powers of very strong shamans to this source. Accordingly, several typical shaman stories have been included in this section because it is claimed that the principal characters in each was a *endzom*; it is highly probable, however, that if such a tale could have been collected when the whites first reached British Columbia, he would have appeared as nothing more than a shaman.

A *Endzom*

A man whose home was on the lower Fraser was once cooking fish with hot stones in a box. To do this properly he needed four sets of heaters; when the food was nearly ready and he was dropping one of the fourth collection of stones into the box, the tongs, weakened by much hard usage, broke. The stone fell into the boiling water with a splash, severely burning the man, who, as it was salmon time, wore no clothing.

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Even in his pain he thought of the way in which human beings are less protected than beasts and this idea troubled him so much that he fainted. *Alquntam* saw that the man was distressed and while he was still unconscious appeared to him, saying:

"I see you are worried about your lack of clothing. I have a message for you. Strange people, somewhat resembling yourselves, are approaching from the far east. They will help you out of your plight. You will find them cooking without the cumbersome boiling box; their houses will be warm and they will even have smooth coverings to their floors; there will be special places for sleeping and wonderful cooking-pots. Though all be warm in these houses, yet the fire will be invisible."

As a result of this vision the man became a shaman. In the autumn he moved toward the coast and built for himself a house of special type with a raised sleeping platform in it, reached by a ladder.

Alquntam had told him to transmit his message to other tribes, and for this purpose he travelled to the sites of Sechelt, Comox, and Nanaimo, telling what he had heard in his trance. He further said that the newcomers would wear clothing, leaving only hands, feet, and faces exposed. This, too, he had learnt from the vision, also that the strangers would arrive during the generation of his hearers.

His fellow tribesmen used to eat large quantities of clams, which could be gathered only at the time of full-moon or new-moon, when the far-receding tide exposed a great expanse of clam-bed. The people decided to test his power by asking him if he could not gather the shell-fish at a time when the tide was medium and the beds covered. The visionary was on his platform in the upper part of his house, but without raising his head, he said:

"Yes, get ready; I will join you immediately."

He descended, passed through the doubting crowd which made way for him, and went to the ocean, with eyes tightly closed. Arrived at the water, he lowered his hand to feel it, then carefully put his foot under the surface, as if it were a mat. He advanced with short steps, going through the motions of one who rolls something back with his feet, and as he did so the water piled up as if it had been a mat, exposing the clam-bed. When he felt sands under his feet he knew that the outer edge of the bed was reached and accordingly stopped, turned his back to the sea, which was now high as a wall, and held it back, without becoming wet. He called to his tribesmen who came and gathered the clams, though some looked doubtfully at the wall of water before them. When all who wished had done so, he ordered them to leave and returned towards the shore himself, the water following him, became normal and recovered its former area.

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The details of this incident are sufficiently circumstantial to presuppose a distorted historical event. Moreover, many of the old people had heard of the incident, another indication of the accuracy of the tradition. As far as could be judged, news of the vision must have reached Bella Coola about the year 1800.[25] It is said that the *cediyem* sang the following song in a language unknown to any of his hearers: *Apsimura apsimura cicils aenama quisiya.*[26] None of the older men appear to have any idea of the meaning of these words, or even of the language to which they belong.

No event has had such profound effect on the lives of the Indians of British Columbia as the coming of the white man. It would be surprising if, looking backwards, they did not feel that it had been foretold by prophets. The preceding story is the only Bella Coola example of such a belief, although tales of a similar kind are found widely throughout the province. In addition, there are a few traditions of prophecies fulfilled by the white man. One of these is that long, long ago, a shaman stated that in the future the dead would return with the ability to make fire by rubbing the end of a small twig along a rough surface, and that, soon after, all the Indians would die. The Bella Coola consider that matches are referred to in the first part of the statement, and read their own doom

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[25] The approximate date was determined in the following manner. The most complete account of the event was obtained from a man fifty-six years old in 1922 who had heard the details from his mother. He was the youngest of a large family, so it is probable that his mother was about forty-five years of age when he was born. When a child of about ten, she had been told of the vision by a woman just passed the age of child-bearing, who had recently reached adolescence when news of the event reached Bella Coola. The figures can be arranged in tabular form.

Duration of the informant's life	56 years.
Interval between his birth and the time his mother heard the news	35 years.
Interval between transmission of the news to the informant's mother and its receipt in Bella Coola	35 years.
Total	126 years.

Allowing for exaggerations, this would make the correct date about 1800.

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[26] A phonograph record was made of this song for the National Museum of Canada. Recorded as song VII D 114, singer, Jim Pollard.

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in the second, as indicated by their diminished population. It 177
is also said that about 1850, when a party of Bella Coola had 756*
camped for the night near Ocean Falls, one of the sleepers 787*
wakened his comrades by calling on them to look at the brilliant lights. No one then understood what he meant, but the meaning has become clear since the installation of electric lights in the town.

In addition to the preceding, a number of stories of the 539
regular shaman type were collected, in which, however, the 756*
principal figure is said to have been a *snáṣom*. They are in- 787*
cluded in this section for the reasons already mentioned.

A POTENTIAL *Snaṣom*

The mother of an elderly Bella Coola used to receive direct communications from *Âlquntäm* which gave her the necessary qualifications for a *snáṣom*, though she did not wish to exercise her power. She was able to see over the whole earth, and to talk to sun, moon, and stars in a language which the other Bella Coola did not understand. She built a small house for herself in the woods where she usually slept alone; sometimes her husband joined her, but he was always afraid of the gigantic toads and other monsters that were her companions.

THE WOMAN WHO COULD CALL THUNDER

About one hundred years ago there was living in a village at the mouth of the Dean River, a man, *Smimodik*, and his wife, *Snaqmais*. He was a famous hunter who frequently observed ceremonial chastity and his wife claimed to be a shaman, but the inhabitants of the villages on both the Dean and Kimsquit rivers doubted this, as did also those living in the lower Bella Coola valley. *Snaqmais* was so boastful and disagreeable that at last the chiefs held a meeting and went one day to her house, where they told her that if she failed to give a satisfactory demonstration of her powers she would be killed.[20] Some were ashamed to doubt her word, but the consensus of opinion was that she should prove her claims, so they all sat down in her house and waited. She looked around and selected one man, *Koskod*, without apparent reason, and told him that he was to

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[20] Such power on the part of chiefs is most unusual and, though it was related without comment by the narrator, should not be regarded as historically correct. [622]

THE ORPHAN HUNTER

(*Second Version*)

Djuskp[*] was a poor orphan boy who lived with and looked after his sister. Eager to be a hunter, he made a bow for himself and begged her to make a string for it. First she offered to braid it of cedar-bark, but he would have none of it, and, when he likewise refused to accept one of moss, she was in despair, saying that she had nothing more that she could use. Then *Djuskp* persuaded her to give him some of her hair, which he twined into a bow-string. His sister told him never to shoot upwards, and he promised to obey her injunction. He was a fairly successful hunter, and killed a large number of squirrels whose skins his sister sewed into clothing for her brother and herself.

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One day when *Djuskp* was hunting he saw a black bear in a tree. It seemed an easy mark, so easy that he felt certain of success and quite forgot his sister's instructions not to shoot upwards. Already he seemed to see himself clad in a fine bear-skin cloak, and ripped his squirrel-skin covering to pieces in anticipation. He shot at the bear, but the arrow, missing its mark, lodged in the tree; again he tried with like result. As this exhausted his quiver, *Djuskp* decided to climb after his arrows. Up he went, the bear clambering up and up above him, but he did not realize that the tree was growing rapidly, until, when he looked down, he saw, to his amazement, that the earth had disappeared from sight. After a moment's hesitation, he resolutely continued his climb. Finally the tree penetrated the floor of the land above, to which the hunter crawled with the aid of his bow.

Djuskp found himself in a flat country where he wandered on until he reached four large runways, such as any large animal might have made. Presently he heard a far-off rumble, a light appeared in the distance, and the sun came roaring up one of the paths. The heat became intense, but as the sun disappeared, the temperature returned to normal. *Djuskp* decided to set the string of his bow as a noose in one of the runways and, when he had done so, lay down to sleep.

Next morning he was awakened by the same distant rumbling; again the sun came near and was caught in his noose. As the heat was unbearable, *Djuskp* tried to reach with his bow to pull away his loop, but was driven back by the warmth. Then a mouse came to his aid, which *Djuskp* sent in to gnaw at the string, but the animal was roasted to death. He pulled it forth with his bow and revived it by sprinkling it with paint. Again he despatched the little creature, but a second time it was overcome

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[*] The name of the hero appears in different forms; it is probably a Carrier word incorrectly pronounced by the Bella Coola.

[illegible] E-5 (1922-1924) [illegible]

[illegible]

warning of [illegible], and joined with a pretty girl engaged at the same task. When he returned home his wife had vanished. Her jealousy was so great that she had gone back to the land of the supernatural.

THE DEATH OF [illegible]*

One May day, sometime about 1870, a certain [illegible] was hunting at [illegible], below [illegible]. He had climbed far up a mountain when he saw a black bear in an open space. Crawling within range, the man fired at the animal with his Hudson's Bay Company musket, and apparently struck it, for it rolled around wildly before slowly moving away. The hunter followed, hoping for a second shot. When the bear had almost reached the farther end of a log which spanned a chasm it turned round, and [illegible] saw, to his utter amazement, that its face was identical with his own. Forgetting to fire, the hunter stood, stricken motionless with wonder, his musket in his hand. His quarry moved slowly off, then paused to look back, and again [illegible] saw that its face was the image of his own. He dared not fire, nor did he dare follow the animal. One of his ancestors had received power from a bear, so he should not have been surprised at this visitation, and, if he had been brave, he would have followed the animal to its home where he would have been made a shaman. In any appearance of the supernatural, whether or not the beholder take advantage of it, he should not mention what he has seen, and for one year should remain close to his home. [illegible] obeyed only the first of these requirements.

Next March [illegible], with a companion whose name was [illegible], set out for the same hunting ground. As they neared their destination [illegible], who was watching for game while his friend paddled, saw a goat far up the slope of a mountain. It had long hair hanging from its throat, such a goat as the people of old said had the power to kill men. He suggested that they land and hunt the animal the following day. The two camped on the very spot used by [illegible] the previous year, and that night he told his friend about his earlier experience, saying that he had just remembered it. [illegible], foolishly, did not dissuade him from his hunting venture.

Next morning [illegible] set off with his dog and his stick, leaving [illegible] in camp. After some time the latter heard a shot, and idly wondered how his companion was faring. Towards dusk the dog returned alone, and [illegible] at once knew that his friend had met with misfor-

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* Although this story does not describe the obtaining of supernatural power, nor the [illegible] of a person as [illegible], it is inserted in this section to show a [illegible] belief in the presence of the supernatural, from which ability might have been gained.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

In the beginning of time, [illegible] the Bella Coola [illegible]

757 [illegible] one wet. This causes the skin to turn white and draws out the matter.

[illegible] (c) The usual remedy for boils and similar sores is cutting. There are no professional surgeons so that a patient merely requests a friend in whom he has confidence to perform the operation which is now carried out with a metal knife instead of an obsidian blade. A man frequently performs on himself and it is not uncommon to see a Bella Coola sitting nonchalantly with thick blood streaming down his leg into a receptacle filled with water. Even when a boil is on the buttocks, it may be cut by sitting down on a knife, but in this case a friend is always present to state when the position is correct.

[illegible] *For Ulcers and Abscesses*

A few individuals, at present two at Bella Coola and one at Kimsquit, have the necessary skill to locate and operate on ulcers of the stomach. They have no inherited prerogative, their ability is due solely to practice and good sense. If a person suffers from internal pains and believes them to be caused by an ulcer, he requests one of these men to help him. The practitioner kneads and handles the patient to locate the growth, and suggests operating if he thinks it necessary. He measures off on the blade of a knife the depth required for the incision and asks consent to make such a cut. If the sufferer considers it too deep, he may indicate a shorter distance on the knife, or he may desire a still deeper one. As soon as patient and surgeon have agreed upon the depth of the wound, the latter inserts the knife to the proper distance, twists it around, and draws it out. If he has diagnosed correctly, pus comes pouring out; the wound is drained by the insertion of an eagle quill, and in every case the patient recovers. Several instances are remembered of too deep cutting, resulting in penetration of the intestines and death. A surgeon is always suitably rewarded for his work.

It is believed that such operations were performed before the introduction of metal knives. Whether or not this be true, "Please remedy the invalid." 755

This is virtually a prayer, addressed to the deceased owner of the skull, and accordingly verges on appeal to the dead. None the less, there is no concept of active supplication to any individual ghost, but rather of acquiring aid by the use of a supernatural object.

For one year after this treatment, sexual intercourse is forbidden to both practitioner and patient. The latter, though not the former, dies if either fails to observe this taboo. The use of an old man to apply the medicine is to lessen danger from this source. The owner of this remedy is always liberally rewarded and some old men carefully preserve a skull under a rock-ledge in order to be ready if called upon. [784 761]

For Smallpox

Pick up a toad, and tear off its head with the teeth, swallowing some of the blood. 757

This is an ancient remedy for some other ailment which was tried as a last resort during the smallpox epidemic. One man who succeeded in practising it on four successive days was cured of the dread disease.

For Consumption

Boil leaves and stems of a certain fleshy plant (not identified) in water and drink the decoction. The potency of the medicine increases accordingly to the number of plants used.

This medicine was a Nootka Indian's hereditary cure for a cough which was found to be effective for consumption as well. The malady was so prevalent on the coast in the last century that it seemed as if the inhabitants were doomed; this remedy was allegedly discovered at that time and knowledge of it spread rapidly from tribe to tribe, saving the lives of hundreds. The Bella Coola recognize that this was a private medicine, but have ceased to regard it as such and have no hesitation in applying it whenever required. [[illegible] [illegible]]

755 *For Insanity*

177 The Bella Coola have no medicine for this disease, although they are familiar with one used by the Kwakiutl, which was applied not long ago to a Rivers Inlet youth by two old women, one from Nawitti and the other from *[illegible]*. They exhumed a recently buried corpse, took a small piece of skin from the left side of the base of the neck, left this for twenty-four hours in a small stream, and then allowed it to steep for another twenty-four hours in a cup filled with water. This liquid was drunk by the patient who immediately recovered his sanity. He was next given water in which had been boiled tendrils from the yellow cedar; this strengthened him and prevented a relapse. The patient, now cured, observed continence for a year; failure to obey this injunction would have caused his death. [185] [761]

The Bella Coola assume that this remedy is the property of Kwakiutl ancestral families who alone are entitled to use it. The practitioners are always suitably recompensed and do not undertake the treatment except at the request of one of the patient's relatives. Kwakiutl experts have been brought to Bella Coola several times within recent years to cure cases of insanity, but great secrecy is maintained concerning the methods employed. They are considered to be effective, in proof of which the attention of the writer was directed to two men who were said to have been raving lunatics before undergoing a Kwakiutl treatment. It is probable that the individuals had been subject to periodic fits of insanity and that a temporary improvement was regarded as a definite cure.

757 *For Venereal Disease (four women)*

(a) Boil scrapings of false hellebore roots in water for a long time and drink the decoction. If it is too strong, add more water.

(b) Pound *[illegible]*, a kind of fungus, in water and drink the brew.

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elaborate *kusiut* ritual which failed;

Numalim, meaning unknown;

"The One who Guards the Ritual by Gripping with his Teeth";

"The Twister";

"The Dog-Toothed One."

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When a *kusiut* acts contrary to the interests of the society the marshals gather in the sacred meeting-place of the village, with other senior *kukusiut*. There is no definite order respecting who shall, or shall not, be summoned. The matter is discussed until unanimity of opinion is reached, although a marshal, particularly if he is also a rich and influential chief, is the guiding spirit. In *Nusqalstmaniam* the supernatural being *Sxktlktmam* kills any supernatural *kusiut* who errs, so in this world it is always said that a verdict of death has been given by this being. Several of those at the meeting are sent out to fetch the victim who, brought before the group, is told that he is to die. He is seized, thrown on his back, and a pole laid across his neck; two men sit on each end until the man is dead.[1] Sometimes less drastic punishments are meted out. About 1880, when the influence of the white man had become evident on the coast, a dancer who had been, theoretically, disemboweled and was supposed to remain for months within his house to recover from the operation, insisted on fleeing to Kimsquit to a woman with whom he was in love. When he returned to Bella Coola a meeting was held to decide whether or not he should be killed. Fear of the white man prevented summary punishment, but the marshals insisted that the offender submit himself to periodic scratching on the stomach with a nail so that it would appear to the uninitiated that he was suffering from a deep wound. The offender was thankful to escape thus lightly.

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[illegible]

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[1] Occasionally the relative of a condemned person saves him by saying that he must not be killed. This means that the speaker is willing to die as a substitute. He is executed in due course, but the mechanism by which the diffusion of information is stopped is not clear.

perform several ancient rites through a desire to "show off" before someone who was ignorant. In recent years there has been a tendency to concentrate on *kusiut* ceremonials, and to judge a man's worth by his lavishness in them, but this is only a modern development due to the prohibition of the potlatch. Nevertheless, even in former times some individuals preferred to invite foreign guests to *kusiut* dances and to give them valuable gifts rather than to save these for potlatches; such a ceremony is called a *[illegible]*. Whenever strangers are present at a *kusiut* dance they receive small pieces of dyed cedar-bark as proof of the friendly intentions of the host. The general consensus of Bella Coola opinion is that it is foolish for a man to concentrate on *kusiut* performances, particularly if he impoverish himself to the detriment of potlatches.

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[723]
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[831]
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Although foreign guests are seldom invited to *kusiut* rites, a dancer frequently calls in his fellows from adjacent villages. But as the ceremonial season is simultaneous in the different settlements, with almost nightly performances, it is often impossible to avoid conflict in dates. Which invitation shall have preference is decided in the following manner:

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[628]
[116]

During the days of *[illegible]* and *[illegible]* the dancer sends a herald of powerful physique to invite guests from as many villages as he wishes. Simultaneously, a messenger may be approaching from the opposite direction with a similar invitation. Each envoy watches carefully around each bend in the path for his rival, and whichever can first call out his message is entitled to continue to give his invitation in the village of the unnoticed herald. It is considered exceedingly bad taste to decline a summons, so the ceremony to which the defeated herald was bearing an invitation must be postponed. Sometimes the two messengers sight one another simultaneously, and the relative priority of their messages is then decided by a contest of strength. The rivals stand in the path, shoulder to shoulder, arms close to their sides, and shove with all their strength, the winner being the one who can force his opponent to move his feet. This last means of deciding is used exclu-

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*575 209 sively when the villages in which the dances are taking place are adjacent or separated by such a short distance that envoys cannot meet en route.

575 177 824 [248] A word may be said about the attitude of the Bella Coola to the dances of other coastal tribes. They know that the Bella Bella, Rivers Inlet, Kwakiutl, and Kitkatla people have kusiut societies, but until recently the members were considered to be uninitiated, as Bella Coola were when they visited foreign tribes. A few years ago the Bella Coola, Bella Bella, and Rivers Inlet people decided that the rites were sufficiently akin to permit membership in one tribe to carry with it membership in the others.

"We have now one organization," they say.

This development is due to ease of communication and diminution of population in the three tribes. None the less, the Bella Coola recognize differences between their own rites and those of their neighbours. They say that no other tribe has organizations, also that in the other tribes the kusiut society is more intimately connected with the chiefs, in fact, that in Bella Bella and Fort Rupert the Cannibals are the chiefs, whereas in Bella Coola even a poor man uninfluential in every other respect, can be one. [177]

*575 177 [196] Speculation is out of place in a descriptive monograph such as this, but the writer gives it as his personal opinion that the Bella Coola have adopted much, but all, of the kusiut ceremonial from other coastal tribes, though they have profoundly altered it in respect to certain minor beliefs connected with localized guardian spirits and the possessions of ancestral families. He further believes that it will be found that this Bella Coola technique has in its turn turned the Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet Indians. There seems little doubt that the Bella Coola are correct in saying that the society is more important among them than among their neighbours, and the writer feels that dances and rituals of distant types have certainly been adapted to the kusiut parts of the Bella Coola. [177] [196]

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* Except a few individuals who had inherited the prerogatives.

and the patron shifts his protection to the substitute. Non-members are told that the death was due to one of the many dangers connected with the society. 575* 766

It is said that, in former times, the *kukusiut* sometimes held a commemorative rite at which the song composed resembled that used at a memorial potlatch. Details were unobtainable on this subject and it is clear that it has long been discontinued. In 1922, however, memorial songs were sung for dead *kukusiut*, but this seems to have been an innovation, due to prohibition of the potlatch. 575* 769 553 177

THE RITUAL OF SPECIFIC DANCES

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE DANCES

A detailed description of various *kusiut* dances can now be given. Unfortunately, there are so many points of difference between them that each will require a separate account, although considerable repetition can be avoided by mentioning in connection with the first dance those features common to all. The initial performer is always he who has the prerogative of seeing the supernatural canoe which comes from the Land of the Salmon to visit *[illegible]*. Several *kukusiut* have the captain of this craft as patron, and if each should wish to dance the marshals decide which of them is to do so. Thenceforth there is no order for different dances; the marshals see to it that anyone who wishes to give a ceremony does so without conflicting with another. The first dance described is the one which occurs at the beginning of every *kusiut* season. 575* 796* [424] [776]

THE DANCE OF *[illegible]*[illegible]

The Bella Coola believe that on the fourth day after the September moon is full there starts from the Land of the Salmon, in the far west, the canoe *[illegible]*, commanded by a supernatural being of the same name. This craft slowly 779 824 825

[illegible] Cf. Boas, p. 46.

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

*575 snatches from old songs. The Bella Bella are said to use the
*996 same compositions from year to year, and recently some of
[533] these, both tunes and foreign words, have been adopted by
the Bella Coola. Long ago the manmaks would have pro-
[177] hibited this custom even if the user had legitimately obtained
the foreign prerogative by marriage.

[805] As the time draws near for *Nusklyum* to start his voyage, X anxiously consults any of the older *kukusiut* who may be calendrical experts as to the exact date. The system of reckoning time is not sufficiently exact to avoid errors, but the day ultimately arrives on which, after much discussion, it is agreed that *Nusklyum* is leaving. Word is passed around to the singers," who sleep that night in X's house, ready for their duties on the morrow.

Early in the morning X stands up, gazes fixedly towards the west, and calls out:

[157] "Once more I see what I saw last year," or some other more or less specific claim to a vision.

It is believed that *Nusklyum* must round four points before
[773] reaching Bella Coola; in fact, his journey beneath the sea is similar to that of a canoe paddling up one of the long fiords.

Some of the manmaks are always in readiness and one of
*[203] them tells a herald to go to every house, repeating what X has said. This serves both to impress the uninitiated, and to notify the *kukusiut* of what is about to take place. The mes-
*575 senger does so, and when all have gathered, the singers, seated
*176 behind the fire, begin to beat out one of the songs composed
533 during the summer months. The theme is of X's phenomenal eye-sight, due to his patron having sent to him the super-
[776] natural being, *Nusklimtum*, at the moment of his departure. This being does not seem to possess corporeal form, but is rather a sight-producing medium. In the song he is often likened to a swift-flying bird; when the uninitiated hear of this they are suitably impressed with the remarkable ability of X at having such a creature sent to him. X, who has donned a
[292] head-dress consisting of the white tails of two eagles, dances

575 776 532 [777] This ejaculation is supposed to make the work of manufacture less difficult. The same procedure is repeated with every mask ordered, except that if the being to be represented is a woman, X's ejaculation is [illegible]. Any *kusiut* can make a mask, but the preference is always given to a man who has shown ability in previous tasks. The carpenters endeavour to follow well-recognized designs for many representations, but a great deal of latitude is allowed, and a workman receives greater praise and fame for turning out a fine and distinctive piece of new design, than for rigid adherence to a former type. This, combined with the burning of masks and consequent loss of permanent patterns, is responsible for the variability in Bella Coola forms, and the difficulty which they themselves experience in recognizing portrayed beings.

575 776 [533] As soon as all the carpentry has been allotted, the singers strike up one of X's eight songs. Whether or not he dances to them is a matter about which there is a difference of opinion among informants. In any case the re-singing on *[illegible]* is purely for rehearsal, made necessary by the large number of songs. Later on in the *kusiut* season, the songs of other dancers may be practised on this night, and if the owners wish to practise their steps, it is quite proper for them to do so. [577 853 872] Finally, a meal is distributed, while the [illegible] in the usual way. Guests are [illegible] of all *kusiut* dances, and the food distributed is regarded as a free-will gift, without thought of repayment. After eating, the *kukusiut* disperse; X must sleep within his own house, but no longer remains within his platform enclosure.

575 776 532 [208] [177] [862] The next day, the twenty-ninth of the ceremony, is quiet. Early in the morning a herald summons to X's house, where the blocks have been left, all those to whom work has been assigned. All morning they carve diligently. The speed with which masks are completed is surprising, although this has undoubtedly increased since the introduction of metal tools. In the middle of the day a few *kukusiut* men, no women, are invited to share "the carpenters' meal," as the food provided

has been in contact. Their attitude of uncertainty as to whether they are gazing upon real supernatural beings or on representations of them has already been described, but the uninitiated do not theorize on the point—they are seeing strange sights about which X and the *kukusiut* know, that is enough for them.

Behind the fire they see a canoe-shaped erection, a model of *Nuskhaymem*'s craft, with six or eight masked heads, his passengers, appearing over the sides. Near this are four more disguised figures, three standing and one sitting. *Anulikwotsaix* ranges in the vicinity, while X himself stands behind, at intervals sweeping one arm over the heads of the strange beings and uttering a droning cry. *Anulikwotsaix* explains to the uninitiated that the figures have come from afar, that they are powerful, but not to be afraid, since X's dance gives protection to them from the supernatural ones. She points to one of the figures whose mask is painted with the design of a salmon.[8]

"See!" she says, "There is *Nuskhaymem*; unless he brings the salmon they cannot come to our river."

Another of the standing figures is described as [illegible], and the other as [illegible]. In each case she states briefly the functions of the being. The central figure, who wears a large hat and rests on a staff, is the Ruler. Great is the mystification of the uninitiated at seeing these supernatural beings[9] normally visible only to X. Then they carry him! Another frequent display is of a group of masked figures playing *lehal* (II, p. [illegible]). If this has been done, *Anulikwotsaix* explains that this game is of interest to the salmon and that it is therefore played in *Nuskhaymem*'s canoe.

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[8] There is no doubt that in former times the Bella Coola attached greater importance to the designs painted on masks than they do at present. [illegible]

[9] As already described, the uninitiated undoubtedly believe that they are actually gazing upon supernatural beings.

[The Cannibal Dance]

The most feared of all Cannibals are those who have the unusual prerogative of eating corpses. At present (1923), there is only one man with this right, whereas at least seven can bite the living. His prerogative was recently obtained from the people of Rivers' Inlet, although the ritualistic devouring of corpses was well known to the Bella Coola in former days. All informants agreed, however, that the actual eating of a body was practically unknown.[20] Even when one was provided and the Cannibal dragged it from house to house, accompanied by an escort of kukusiut, though he sank his teeth into the flesh and pulled forth morsels of the carcass, he invariably disposed of them as soon as he was out of sight of the uninitiated, as in the case of the dog. Of course, blood and small pieces of flesh must have been swallowed inadvertently, but the rite was always essentially ritualistic, not real. More often, the "corpse" consisted of a wooden frame-work, shaped like a human body, and covered with the scraped skins of deer or dogs. The interior was filled with the flesh of an animal, and the whole buried in the graveyard until the meat had become foul. The uninitiated, from a distance, watched the exhuming of this object and concluded that it really was a long-buried body. Fear prevented them from making a close inspection, so that the defects of the imitation were not apparent. The frame-work was kept hidden from year to year; an inquisitive non-member who chanced to stumble upon one would have to be initiated or die.

On account of the long time that has elapsed since a complete corpse-eating Cannibal dance was carried out, it was found impossible to obtain a detailed account of the ritual. This deficiency is unimportant since all informants agreed that it closely resembled other Cannibal dances.

Like other Cannibals, one who has the prerogative of eating dead human flesh can perform as often as he desires, subject only to the approval of the kusiut, who have no hesitation

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[20] Vague hints that occasional eating, as cases of cannibalism was known among the Bella Coola.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Breaker Dance]

they do not like. No compensation can be claimed, on the theory that supernatural beings do not have to pay for any damage they may do. Although the property of some *kukusiut* is destroyed, the chief sufferers are the uninitiated; this serves to increase their fear and respect for the society with which such all-powerful beings are in league. After visiting every house in the village, the party returns to X's, where the masks are burnt, the call sent back, and the proceedings conclude in the usual manner. 575* 796* 781 [578 615]

A certain amount of information concerning the history of the Breaker dance was obtained from *[illegible]*, the owner of the prerogative just described. He is a well-informed man, but the writer had no opportunity of comparing his beliefs with those of his associates, so the following must be regarded as unsubstantiated evidence. This man stated that the Breaker dance is the most important of all in Bella Bella, and that many Bella Coola prerogatives have been obtained from this source, although some of their first ancestors likewise enjoyed it. He further stated that the term, *[illegible]*, by which the Bella Coola always designate a Breaker, is of Bella Bella origin, and that the ancient Bella Coola term was *[illegible]*.[20] *[illegible]* also told of an occasion when a number of Bella Bella, present on the *[illegible]* night of a Bella Coola ceremony, were disturbed when eating by the thud of a stone thrown, from outside, against the wall of the back room. Out rushed a number of *kukusiut*, incensed at the disrespect shown to their gathering. They caught the offender, but released him when he was found to be a Bella Bella Breaker, forcibly demonstrating his prowess. The marshals decided to retaliate and arranged with two Bella Coola Breakers to exercise their rights and destroy the canoes and food-boxes of their guests. They did so, and later paid for the damage. The Bella Coola were thus able to demon- 575* 796* [115] [771 777] 575* 796* 648 618

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[20] [illegible] and several of his children are the only Bella Coola known to the writer who habitually use the sound "[illegible]". For example, he says "[illegible]," instead of "[illegible]." He says that he is himself unable to distinguish any peculiarity in his own pronunciation, although other Bella Coola are aware of it. [187]

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

and must never gossip or mingle casually with the outsiders. 575*
In addition to a band of dyed cedar-bark on his head he wears 796*
one around his stomach.

A number of years ago, when the influence of the white man 575*
had become strong enough to undermine the old ritual, a Bella 796*
Coola kusiotem dancer, instead of remaining in seclusion after 628
the dance, ran away to Kimsquit where lived a young woman 177
with whom he was in love. In the old days this would have led to punishment by a third strike. When the offender wished to return to Bella Coola he was afraid of the wrath of the marshals, but plucked up courage to come back after several months. The marshals seized him and scratched his stomach with a metal nail so that the uninitiated, seeing the wound, might be led to believe that the man had been severely cut. Periodically the scabs were pulled off to re-inflame the injury and make it appear that a deep gash was slowly healing. The offender, of course, could not protest, since he was a kusiotem who had broken the law and was fortunate in escaping so lightly.

The Beheading Dance

Another of the dramatic dances which can be performed by 575*
a *kusiotem* is that of having his head pulled off. Like the 796*
Stomach-Cutting dance, it is the prerogative of a Kimsquit [624]
man named *Ooiomalican*. He carried out the rite a few years after he had performed the one just described. The main points of ritual being identical for all *kusiotem* dances, minor points already recorded can be omitted. As before, it will be convenient to term *Ooiomalican* X, and to describe the dance in the present tense.

Early in the summer X informs one of the marshals of his desire to have his head pulled off the following winter. The one consulted discusses the matter with his fellows; in this case no objections were raised as *Ooiomalican* had already performed a *kusiotem* dance and it was felt that he was reliable.
As soon as permission is granted, the would-be dancer asks the [532]
best carpenters to meet him in a lonely place in the forest and

[The Dance of Winwina]

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way as with the salmon, except that the jumping is omitted. The order of display is according to the time of ripening for each, but there is so much difference of opinion about this that no rigid order is maintained. The first shown is always the cow-parsnip, but after that there is no definite sequence. The following "berries" were shown at a dance not many years ago: cow-parsnip; *Ribes laxiflorum*; wild gooseberry; tall bilberry; thin-leaved bilberry; blueberry; black huckleberry; red elderberry; dwarf bilberry; *Ribes bracteosum*; salalberry; Canadian buffalo berry; wild red raspberry; blackberry; *Rubus spectabilis* Pursh.; salmon-berry; black hawthorn; flowering juneberry; bunchberry; wild rose; red bearberry.

The informant was not certain that the above was the exact order in which the berries were shown on the occasion described. It is probable that it is approximately correct, however, since he added that the wild strawberry had also been shown, but as he could not remember its correct place he had omitted it. Other old men stated that the following food plants had been used at other *Winwina* dances: lily, one of the *Fritillaria*, species undetermined; perennial clover; black raspberry; crabapple; cranberry; fern root; bracken root. Foods introduced by the white man were shown at a recent dance, including: potato, carrot, turnip, and a miniature can of preserved peaches, such as are commonly used in the manufacture of native wine.

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[273]

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* 776

Sometimes no one is able to guess the object represented, and when all have grown discouraged the exhibitor puts his ear against X's mouth. The uninitiated assume, of course, that the dancer's supernatural power makes it easy for him to tell the answer and that he is transmitting the information to the hearer who promptly gives it. If an uninitiated person should guess the correct response rapidly, it is taken for granted that she has found favour with the supernatural beings. When the last berry has been thrown on the fire, a *kusiut* stands up and starts a song describing the Hermaphrodite and his actions in the land above. The singer provides his own time by beating the one that takes place at a thunder-storm, is said to "make good the path" of the patron. It would formerly have been a very serious offence for a Sun dancer not to perform at an eclipse; his failure would probably have been punished with death by the marshals. One informant vividly recalled his fears when he failed to perform at an eclipse soon after his conversion to Christianity, and reiterated that he had been in deadly peril from the marshals in spite of the white man's law. 575* 796* 821 [688 177]

THE MOON DANCE

The Sun is not the only heavenly body that acts as patron to *kusiut* dancers, the Moon also has many human protégés. Among them is *[illegible]*, "The Moon When It Is Unobscured," of *[illegible]*, from whom the following account of the Moon dance was obtained. As usual, he can be spoken of as X. [776 351 424]

The Moon dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial season, subject, of course, to X's wishes and the consent of the marshals. The coming of the call is heralded in the usual manner and the *kusiut* presently assemble to learn the song just composed. It describes the following supernatural beings:

[illegible]. A woman who lives in the moon and who can be seen in certain of its phases, always carrying a bucket of water. 575* 796* 821

The two *[illegible]*: These two beings are able periodically to blacken the Moon's face, thus causing an eclipse. 776

The two *[illegible]*. These kindly women clean the Moon's face after it has been blackened. It is these beings who come to earth to assist [illegible] *kusiut*.

The song also describes how no supernatural being dares to pass the Moon's house during an eclipse, a prohibition similar to that obeyed by uninitiated with regard to passing outside a house where a *kusiut* ceremony is taking place. [784]

[illegible] is the usual term for ghost; no reason was given for the application of the same designation to the woman living in the moon. [775 142]

There is difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not there is more than one of these beings.

533 instrument is the drum.[1] In former times the drum consisted
746 solely of a box, though recently skin drums have been adopted
575 from the Carriers. There is usually one singer especially pro-
534 ficient in using this, though sometimes another takes his place;
177 all such arrangements are completed during the final rehearsal. A final decision is also reached as to who shall fill the three principal parts, *sankwalsäm*, *älaia*, and *lsulkm*. It is the duty of the *sankwalsäm* or *leader*, to regulate the time; he squats facing the others, who are grouped in a close semicircle, and indicates the rhythm by pounding with his stick on the floor. When a song is to start, he first taps rapidly, then modifies and regulates it throughout. The leader should be the best musician among the singers, and the same individual usually functions on all occasions although a rearrangement is sometimes necessary. In the centre of the singers sits the *älaia*, *announcer*, who must possess a powerful voice. As already mentioned, every song consists of three parts, each with several subdivisions. When the leader has beaten time rapidly to indicate that the singers are ready, the announcer bellows out the words of the first subdivision so that all the audience can hear them. Crash! goes the leader's stick and his voice gives the key for singing the words just called out, in which the audience is expected to join. As they are finishing, the announcer roars the next subdivision, and the same procedure is repeated. Instead of proceeding to the third, the announcer often next returns to the first, following it by the second. The subdivisions of a single part are never sung through in order once only, there are always repetitions and ramifications according to the discretion of the announcer. At the end of the first part, the leader again beats time rapidly in which his fellow-singers join.
535 If a dancer is performing, he crouches down without making any effort to keep time with the rapid tapping, and the singing ceases. After a short pause, the second part is sung in the same manner, followed likewise by the third. The function of

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[1] Rattles, made of dried maple, are used by some *kusiut* dancers, but they can hardly be termed musical instruments.

*533 prerogative, he was debarred from seclusion in the back-room and consequent [701] initiation as a *kusiut*. The exact relationship between warriors and members of the *kusiut* society is obscure.

[575] (b) *Lawaiyaa'k'* is a Kitkatla name from the north. The first owner moved to [424] Kitlope where he married, and the designation was transmitted to his descendants. One of the latter migrated to Kimsquit, where the name has since been handed [177] down from generation to generation though its original source has not been forgotten.

(c) Recorded as song VII D 36, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been used about 1870.

(d) Vocative form.

(e) That is: I double my importance. This kind of expression is popular among chiefs.

[424] (f) *Sxwi* is one of the ancestral names of Raven, the dancer's crest. In thus addressing the bird, he called attention to his ancestral history.

[262] (g) The home of the first *Lawaiyaa'k'* was near a point where dead whales often drifted ashore. The dancer likens himself to a whale on which people will dine.

(h) Such repetition is not uncommon. The dancer implies that his wealth will be divided in a manner similar to the cutting up of a whale's carcass.

(i) A promontory owned by the first *Lawaiyaa'k'*.

(j) That is: I summon people [to a feast.]

(k) An invitation not to be taken too literally.

Xe·tla SONGS

The tunes of *xe·tla* songs are believed to have been handed down, unaltered, for many generations. The words, too, are frequently ancient although the singers sometimes make slight changes so that they will be more suitable for the chief in whose honour they are being sung. Owing to the decline of ceremonials in which they were used, few *xe·tla* songs are now [796] remembered.

Xe·tla Song Used by [illegible] of Kimsquit(a)

[727]

A	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*
	Come!	See!	The chief	a man stands in the bow(b)

[illegible]
of those who travelled everywhere.

[illegible]

B	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*
	He did so,	my pattern(c),	whence I came(d);

533*

[illegible]	[illegible]
he climbed and returned	thing(d).

[repetition omitted]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded on song VII D 39a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. [729]

(b) A sign of victory, eagerly watched for when a war party is returning.

(c) A reference to [illegible], one of [illegible]'s first ancestors in the beginning of time. He made a journey to the Heavens, returning from there with canoe and paddles decorated with sun designs. The exploits of his descendants are compared with those of his person, that is, his first fathers. Such references to family history are sources of pride to the chief being honoured. [773]

(d) That is: From whom I am descended.

Fragment of a Ts'ito Song(a) Used by [illegible] of Kimsquit(b)

A [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Presently he will be ashamed	that chief	if I get

[illegible]
my supper.

(a) Both tune and theme are said to be of Kwakiutl origin. [777]

(b) Recorded on song VII D 38b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

Fragment of a Ts'ito Song Used by [illegible] of Kimsquit(a)

A [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
They are smiling,	greetings to the sun-anointed ghost!	They drink

[illegible]
the food of white men(c).

[repetition omitted]

B and C have been forgotten.

(a) Recorded on song VII D 40a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) Literally: Hello!

(c) This song was used at a potlatch where the fare provided was whisky. The tune is said to be very ancient although new words were composed for the occasion. [556] [279]

[illegible] Songs

[illegible] songs somewhat resemble [illegible] ones and, like them, are difficult to collect completely. Parts of many are sacred. [575] [746]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] mourning songs

Several prominent [illegible] died during the spring and summer of [illegible]. Memorial rites of the usual nature were held, but in addition several [illegible] mourning songs were composed and used in their honour during the next ceremonial season. When a relative was initiated, his song contained numerous references and words of the type normally restricted to mourning songs. Such a combination may occasionally have taken place in former times, but the present comparatively common usage is due to the difficulty of holding regular potlatches. In each case the [illegible] rites were abbreviated, and no description of the proper ceremonial was obtained. The following are examples of combined [illegible] and mourning songs:

[illegible]

[illegible] When a bat is seen flitting around in the dark, [illegible] greet it as follows:[1]

[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]

These two words are repeated an indefinite number of times.

[1] Recorded in song VII [illegible], National Museum of Canada, [illegible]

GAMBLING SONGS

[illegible] Gambling games have always been popular among the Bella Coola, especially the one known as [illegible] which may be of European origin. Contestants sing as they play, but the songs, lacking words, consist merely of a series of meaningless ejaculations. The tunes, however, are remembered, and certain ones are considered to be the proper accompaniment to certain games. When a number of men are singing in unison, they follow the directions of a leader, but at other times the "words" vary according to individual taste. The tunes often are important, and it is often remembered from whom one first got them.[2]

[illegible] A few songs have been adopted from the Carrier and are sung from sheer delight in the rhythm, since the words are unintelligible. The most popular is the following:

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(1) [illegible] Carrier [illegible]

(2) Recorded [illegible] National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim [illegible]

(3) [illegible] Bella Coola [illegible]

(4) [illegible] Carrier [illegible]

(5) [illegible]

[illegible]

This song is said to have been used at some ceremonial at [illegible], in the Carrier country. The rite is spoken of as a potlatch, although the Bella Coola state that it differed [illegible] from one of their own potlatches, and that every guest brought his own song. Its words are:

[illegible]

(1) Recorded [illegible] National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim [illegible]

The Bella Coola have no idea of the meaning of this song.

T. McIlwraith: E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
[illegible] Bella Coola [illegible]

as a warrior. Such a chief had no command over his followers. 721
If he were a man of great prestige, many would be willing to 721
serve under him, but he could not compel the services of any- 622
one except his own slaves. A few individuals often declined to [626
follow their fellows to war, although the force of public opinion 626
usually prevented a too individualistic course. Inhabitants of 628]
other towns used their own discretion whether or not to join
the party. If some of their relatives had been slain in the
previous attack, revenge influenced them to share in the expedi-
tion, otherwise only the prestige of a mighty chief could
attract them. No case is known in which all the Bella Coola [648
villages joined in a single expedition; there were often tem- 628]
porary alliances between neighbouring settlements, but com-
plete lack of central organization. The course of events was
similar when a chief wished to raid without the motive of
avenging an attack. For example, if a Bella Coola had been [641]
enslaved by a foreign tribe and slain by his owner, a brother
of the victim might decide on revenge. The usual course was
to kill a slave belonging to the murderer, though sometimes
he led a raiding party if he could gain the necessary support.

Each warrior provided his own weapons, frequently the 726
same as those used for hunting. Bows with obsidian-tipped 411
arrows were most relied upon for offence, though slings were
also used from canoes. Every man carried a spear, pointed
like an arrow, for hand-to-hand fighting, although there was
relatively little of this, most of the combats being fought at a
distance with much noise, boasting, and expletives, but few
casualties. Spears were, however, useful if the attackers suc-
ceeded in surprising a village at night. Hostilities are a thing
of the past, consequently it was impossible to obtain detailed
information regarding offensive weapons. Armour consisted 716
of maple or birch slats reinforced with moosehide and worn 726
around the body and chest; this rendered quick movement
difficult but was effective against arrows. Muskets were intro- [411
duced many years ago and armour consequently became use- 177]
less. Large shields of moosehide were carried in all canoes,

slave of a chief where "the white men get money stone." Then *[illegible]* began to go south, and was finally sold to an important chief living north of Port Simpson. He used to beat her; in fact, she carried the scars with her to her grave. *[illegible]*'s master had another slave, a male Bella Bella, with whom the woman was on friendly terms since she was related by blood to a Bella Bella family and could speak that language. Angered by her harsh treatment, *[illegible]* suggested to her companion in misfortune that they kill their master and escape. The man was at first unwilling, but she assured him that she knew the route southward. The conspirators awaited their opportunity which came when their master went halibut fishing, accompanied only by his two slaves. One evening *[illegible]* cooked a large meal for him which made him drowsy as he sat by the fire; then she stole behind him, picked up an axe, and killed him by hitting him over the head. The two murderers carefully scraped up all the blood, tied stones to the corpse, and sank it in deep water so that their master's friends would believe that he had been drowned with his slaves. Then the two, having stolen a canoe, paddled off, hiding by day, and subsisting on what shell-fish they could gather. After many perils they reached Bella Bella, whence *[illegible]* returned home.

She had been carried off as a mere girl, but was past the age of child-bearing when she returned and had almost forgotten her native language. The Bella Coola were keenly interested in the tale of her adventures, and especially in the way that slaves were buried in Alaska. It was assumed that some of their own captives must have been killed in that way, so a slave from the far north was sacrificed in revenge. It is said that this custom was common among the northern tribes from whom the Bella Coola adopted several practices, although this particular one was carried out but once.

The most famous Kitimat chief, and the one most dreaded by the Bella Coola, was *[illegible]*, who is said to have had almost hypnotic powers over his northern warriors. The same name was transmitted from one holder to another, but the most

[illegible] McIlwraith B-4 (1922-1924) [illegible]
[illegible] Bella Coola [illegible]

CHAPTER [illegible]

GAMES

THE subject of games, lying on the border-line of social customs, was one which was not fully investigated. The Bella Coola, like all other peoples, have a number of sports and pastimes and although the old diversions are being forgotten by the younger people, many of the old men and women are familiar with those played in their youth. As isolated customs these may be of small value, but games of all kinds often preserve ancient practices and, in providing useful clues to the spread of peoples or of culture, are worthy of investigation. Unfortunately, lack of time made it impossible to give the subject the attention it deserved, and the few games here described must not be considered an exhaustive treatment of the subject.

Though less fond of competitive sports than the Indians of the Plains, the Bella Coola enjoy canoe-racing and wrestling. The former appears to have been an ancient diversion; picked crews from different villages competed amid the encouraging shouts of their fellows, and even now the younger men are anxious to display their skill in this respect. Wrestling, which used to be common during all non-sacred gatherings, has almost entirely disappeared since the prohibition of the potlatch.

The favourite sedentary pastime, enjoyed equally by young and old, is the telling of stories. Those of a sacred nature, especially ancestral myths, are reserved of course for ceremonial occasions, but the older men and women remember many tales describing the exploits of birds and animals which are recounted again and again to the enjoyment of the listeners, although they may have heard the same recital fifty times. Children enjoy the companionship of some old story-teller and it is a common sight to see an old man or woman, surrounded by an eager group, explaining once more how Raven contrived to trick or was himself led into difficulties. Many of these stories are somewhat indecent, others appear innocently foolish, but the Bella Coola do not consider this aspect and the children grow up in an atmosphere entirely lacking in restraint of speech. Some stories teach a moral lesson, but they are recounted mostly for entertainment. At the present time, no one knows who invented the stories; they have been handed down from dim antiquity and alterations or embellishments are considered improper, while the composition of new tales appears to be unknown.

Another pastime is smoking. Among some Indian tribes the practice has a definite religious significance, but this appears to be lacking among the Bella Coola. Most of the men enjoy either a pipe or cigarettes, and some of the women also indulge, but few carry the habit to excess. All the older people affirmed that their ancestors had smoked for generations. Tobacco was not grown, but kinnikinnik, [illegible], was used, and also a plant known as [illegible]. Another smoking mixture was bark of [illegible], roasted before a fire until dried and brittle, and then crumbled between the hands. These materials have given place entirely to imported tobacco, and the white man's pipe has replaced the native one. The latter consisted of a [illegible] stem from which the pith had been extracted; sometimes a small bowl of [illegible] wood was added, but often the mixture to be smoked was simply placed within the end of the hollow stem.

Adults, especially the men, are addicted to gambling. They are fond of placing stakes on a race or other trial of strength, and enjoy all kinds of games of chance. Some of the younger men have mastered a few of the simpler games of cards on which they spend a certain amount of time and money. The favourite gambling game, however, is one found in all parts of the coast, which is played with a pack of fifty-four [illegible] [illegible] sticks. The rules are complicated and no effort was made to learn more than the general principles. The pieces are divided among the [illegible], then one player guesses in whose hand a certain marked stick is hidden. If he is successful, the others pay him a forfeit; if

[illegible]

[illegible]

#334 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[117] [illegible]

T. McIlwraith B-3 (1922-1924) 1948

NEH Bellacoola NEB

Bella bella NE5

F3

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B

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F10

[403]

island. Ignorant of their whereabouts, they paddled blindly, successful in [illegible] their enemies, and soon after found themselves at Victoria of which they had heard. A few schooners were in the harbour and on the beach they saw a single white man. The latter noticed them and recognized that they were strangers from the shape and decorations of their canoes, and the type of boxes they were carrying, each with a hole in the corner, as is typical of those made by the Bella Bella. The man mentioned this peculiarity to his wife, who was herself a Bella Bella, and she came walking out of the house to welcome those whom she knew at once must be her fellow-tribesmen. The twenty [illegible] landed and were provided with food and water by the white man's wife.

They rested for several days at Victoria, rejoicing in their safety, then began to think of returning home. The white husband of the woman who had befriended them urged the travellers to stay and work for him, promising that he would later guide them north himself, but when he realized that they were unwilling, he gave them what assistance he could. None of them was familiar with the inner route, and they feared to return and go around the outside of the island owing to the hostile reception they had had at the southern end. So the kindly white man drew a rough map on the sand, giving them information about the inlets, hostile Indians, good fishing places, and other facts which he thought would be of value. Then they set forth and reached the north end of Vancouver Island without being seen. Thenceforth they were among friendly tribes and could travel openly.

Meanwhile the Bella Bella had despaired of the safety of the long-absent hunters. The father of the chief had invited neighbouring tribes to a memorial potlatch in honour of his son when, on the morning of the day when the feast was to commence, a large canoe was seen approaching the beach. It contained so much European clothing and utensils that those on shore could not recognize the occupants until they were close at hand, but when it was seen that they were the long-lost hunters, they were welcomed with great rejoicing. The only disappointed man was the one who had arranged to marry the wife of the absent chief; she had insisted on waiting for a year before remarrying, although the wives of the crew had all taken new partners believing their husbands dead.[8]

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[8] It is difficult to explain a story such as the above. It seems impossible that a canoe-load actually reached an island off the coast of California, and yet there is no place off the Oregon or Washington coast to which it could refer. Probably the time that elapsed and the directions taken by the canoe have become confused in the years that have passed since the voyage, though it is highly probable that it rests on a basis of truth in the adventures of a crew driven from their course by adverse winds. Curiously enough, the Bella Coola do not claim to be familiar

B

[777]

Bella Bella. NES

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

been displayed in their customs and beliefs, their habits, practices, and folk-lore, their outlook both towards the supernatural world and towards their fellows.

The following additional observations are the result of personal knowledge, and recorded after considerable thought.

When a white man begins to understand the Bella Coola, he cannot fail to be impressed by their deep belief in the supernatural. To them religion is no mental abstraction, but a living reality. They feel the presence of strange creatures around them, and they recognize non-human powers in every manifestation of their own minds; in fact, every incident, good or bad, is attributed to supernatural intervention. This does not mean that they regard life with stoic indifference, content to murmur *Kismet* at whatever fate befalls them. They realize that supernatural powers have endowed them with brains, with physical strength, and with the ability to win favour and gain help from active superhuman beings, and consequently they strive in a world teeming with potent forces. The individual toils as does a white man in the struggle of life, but he attributes his fortunes, not to luck or to his unaided exertions, but to the assistance of non-human agents. If he is fortunate, it is because his spirit has been active; if unfortunate, because it has been too inert to protect him.

Contact with white men, particularly with missionaries, has raised tremendous problems for the Bella Coola. The older people have been but little affected; they may state that they are Christians, believing in the white man's god, but this often means only the knowledge of one more supernatural being whom they add to the already rich pantheon. It is quite otherwise with the younger people, particularly with those who have been away at school. Some adopt the new faith with fervour, continuing to see the same visions and to experience the same mental stimulations, but attributing them to Christianity. To others, however, loss of belief in their own faith has caused a general scepticism; though they may accept the new religion, it does not become the vital force which the old was to their beliefs. Inherited beliefs are too deep-rooted to pass away entirely within a few generations. Even those who claim to have adopted the new faith remain convinced of the potency of magic, and of the existence of those supernatural creatures which do not directly conflict with the white man's creed. Such lack of consistency is a world-wide trait, particularly noticeable among the Bella Coola whose philosophy abounds in contradictions, dependent upon statements handed down in the origin myths of different families.

The Bella Coola are constrained not only by the constant presence of supernatural beings, they are constantly subjected to the influence of their fellows. They are far less individualistic than white people. A chief may boast that he can do as he pleases, that he can disregard the restrictions of lesser men; he often does so, but only because public opinion recognizes that he has reached a position of eminence by giving many potlatches. The daily [illegible] [illegible] is known because he feels that everyone is aware of his actions. The man who performs some ceremony in accordance with an ancestral myth associates himself with his fellows, and is strengthened by the conviction that he has gained their support and approbation. In every phase of life, a person is profoundly affected by the approval or disapproval of his neighbours. At present the construction of small houses, each occupied by a single family, makes it possible for a man to hide himself, as to be [illegible] unknown to the rest of the community. This lessens the force of public opinion, although it is even now more potent than conscience in checking anti-social acts. Formerly, in communal houses, every action was fully known, making individual freedom of thought and act virtually impossible. Even now a man is closely influenced by his relatives who take a great share in what the white man would consider purely family affairs. The effect of the group upon the individual must not be overlooked, nor can it be over-stressed in a study of these people.

The education and conversion of the younger men have both enormously lessened their reliance upon their fellows. In former times, older relatives were revered, not only as senior members of the ancestral family, but as those most familiar with myths and other cherished possessions. With the spread of new ideas, the young people no longer respect the lore of their elders, and consequently do not heed their admonitions and advice. Theoretically, such self-reliance would seem desirable, but in practice it has led to unfortunate results. A young man, considering himself superior to the older people, glories in acting on his own initiative, but too often he lacks the requisite strength of character to guide his own life. If he wishes to drink, he does so; if he desires to marry, he chooses his mate without considering the transmission of ancestral rights which established unions in former times. If he tires of his wife, he deserts her for another; if he cheats or steals, he is no longer restrained by relatives who fear disgrace. The elders, incapable of stemming the tide, watch sadly and ask seriously whether the coming of the white man has brought compensation for the loss it has caused. It is deplorable that the emancipation of the younger men and women has taken place before the development of the sense of individual responsibility and conscience which public opinion formerly rendered less necessary. Christianity provides a moral code for those who are fully converted, but for the many in the transition stage, the break-down of the old system of family influence has been tragic. 197 626 182 561 [581]

Profound religious beliefs and lack of individual initiative are shared by all Bella Coola with the exception, perhaps, of a few of the younger people who, having been educated at white man's schools, have adopted the new outlook unconditionally. In most characteristics they display as wide variability as any other people. In truthfulness, for example, they range from one extreme to the other. As the writer became familiar with the older men, he found it possible to recognize without difficulty the strength of some and the weakness of others. There are liars, but they can be easily detected owing to their lack of finesse. It is a pleasure to record the reliability of the author's friends and informants. Their veracity was checked repeat- 181 177 577 124

577 [124] edly until complete confidence was established, simplifying work in the field to an enormous extent. Equal trust could be placed on these men in other respects; articles of value were repeatedly left in their houses with the absolute certainty that they would be guarded with care. Some few individuals there were, however, who were neither honest nor trustworthy. [771] 626 577 [426] [627] [777] Bella Coola religion is not concerned with ethics, but public opinion demands honour in dealing with relatives or friends. In former times, for example, debts incurred by an individual were considered a liability by his relatives. If a man died after buying goods on credit for a potlatch, his family were disgraced if they failed to pay his bills; now, unfortunately, nothing constrains the younger people, many of whom try to avoid settling even their own debts, much less those of dead relatives. Individual conscience has not replaced the tribal and, more specifically, family influence. [646] [777] Dishonesty in small matters is not uncommon, particularly in dealing with white people who, according to the Bella Coola, were the first to transgress. The older people bitterly lament the lack of morality of the younger and state, probably with some justification, that they would have been prevented by the open life which prevailed when several families shared a single house. On the whole, however, the average Bella Coola is probably no less honest than the average white man.

153 124 Individuals vary enormously in mental ability. In making this investigation, it was necessary to interview all the older people of the tribe. Disregarding those unwilling to provide information, it was found that some absolutely lacked the ability to explain matters with which they were familiar; some did not have sufficient patience to be good teachers; some were so forgetful that they would omit necessary points in a story or account; some were downright stupid, whereas others displayed mental ability of no mean order. In reading ethnological literature, one is apt to think of the troubles experienced by the author, and to overlook the fact that natives have to

great difficulties in explaining their customs, as the white man has in understanding them. 153 124

The writer was impressed by the brilliance shown by several of the natives. Joshua Moody, for example, is essentially the philosopher. More individualistic than most of his tribesmen, he was one of the first to adopt Christianity and has been a faithful follower of the new creed. Deeply interested in religious questions, he has stored up what has been told him of the Bible and pondered deeply on all problems of life. Not particularly practical, subject to fits of anger or moroseness, but with a meditative temperament which delights in seeking biblical parallels and synonyms for Bella Coola practices, his is the kind of mind which, in other walks of life, would have produced the professor of philosophy. Jim Pollard is quite another type. Essentially practical, he has devoted his energies to keeping abreast of changing conditions. He is the best singer and composer in Bella Coola, the best canoeman for miles; he has learnt to handle a motor-boat engine, to aid prospectors for minerals, and has succeeded in amassing and saving a considerable amount of money. Jim excelled all other informants in clearness and logical presentation of his explanations, though he showed a slight tendency, intelligible enough, to gloss over aspects which he knew would be considered unpleasant. If Jim had been a white man, he would undoubtedly have made his mark in the world of business. The late Captain Schooner differed from either of the preceding. Older than they, and unconverted, he, perhaps, came nearest to the original, uncontaminated Bella Coola type. Heavy in build, coarse in humour and expression, he had a heart of gold and was a fine example of a native gentleman. He was glad to assist most patiently in recording ancient lore, being intensely proud of the traditions of his ancestors. A friendship developed from this which is one of the writer's happiest memories. Often in the evenings life in general was discussed, the war, the rush of progress in big cities, the quest for wealth, the spread of white civilization, and the problems raised by the contact of peoples.

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[123]

115 Schooner lacked the mental acumen of Joshua and Jim, but
177 he revealed himself as a tribal patriarch, proud of his family's
[153] history and eager to assist his grandchildren and great-grand-
children, but feeling himself lost and helpless in the struggle
before them. With sadness, but without bitterness, he used
to speak of the approaching end of Bella Coola culture, and his
words brought home the tragedy which the spread of civiliza-
tion brings to so many, and the responsibility resting upon the
white people as a whole.

153 Until an intelligence test is devised to correlate the mental
118 ability of the white man with that of the native, it is impos-
sible to compare the two scientifically. None the less, the
writer deliberately expresses the opinion that Joshua Moody
and Jim Pollard are two of the most brilliant men he has met
in any walk of life. They are undoubtedly the most able of
the Bella Coola; others have only slightly less ability, while
the mass of the population compares favourably with an
178 average white community. Their ability, however, is defi-
nitely conditioned by their conservatism. Absolute trust in the
traditions of their ancestors has checked speculation, as the
established explanation is never questioned; new inventions,
unauthorized by custom, have been regarded as almost sacri-
[626] legious; the force of public opinion, while valuable as a deter-
rent to anti-social practices, has effectively restrained inno-
vations. The Bella Coola are a good example of a community
where development has been atrophied by extreme conser-
vatism fostered by religious beliefs.

105 Taking into account the material obstacles, the achieve-
ments of these people have not been insignificant. In former
[322] times, provided only with tools of stone and untempered
copper, they built graceful canoes, made watertight boxes,
hewed planks from mighty cedars, and erected large houses
which called for considerable engineering skill. Judged by
[532] white standards, their carving and painting lacked artistic deli-
[535] cacy, but it required no mean ability to portray crest designs to
meet their own standards. Passing from the purely mechanical

515 sionally, in a half-hearted manner, but it is not unusual for a man to allow the basin of water in which he makes his ablutions to remain standing for two or three weeks. Not many
[177] years ago the Carriers taught their neighbours to make a kind
[246] of soap from the ashes of burnt cottonwood sticks thrown into water; with this clothes are washed irregularly and in most
[388] cases from sheer necessity only. In former times bathing was
[785] a semi-sacred rite, but this fell into disuse with the passing of the old religion, and the use of soap and water merely for the
[177] sake of cleanliness has not become a daily habit. The women
[291] have more vanity; the younger girls especially like to have new clothes, though they wear them carelessly, heedless of fit.
[796] An effort is often made to clean up for ceremonial dances, but it entails little more than the removal of the more obvious dirt and the putting on, over unchanged undergarments, of a sweater. Pride in personal appearance, love of tidiness, delight in a clean house, are all quite foreign to the Bella Coola.

956 Probably the reason for lack of comforts in the houses is simply that the people do not feel the need for them. They
[264] consider it no hardship to sit on a rickety chair, scoop up food from a common dish and, if they think of it, throw morsels
[291] down to the dog or the cat. The smell, the flies, the dirt, the
[152] chaos do not concern them. Capable of undergoing privations, hardships, and even sufferings, they think neither of the com-
291 fort of themselves nor of others. Their domestic animals are often treated abominably, not through lack of affection or cruelty, but from callousness. More than once the writer has seen a favourite dog steal a piece of food from the table. Its master, after a furious blow or kick at it, would suddenly, as if by inspiration, throw a choice bit to the animal, saying:

"Why, he must have been hungry!"

Though the Bella Coola feel a kinship with animals unknown to the white man, it is not combined with any recognition of their feelings as living creatures. There are, of course,
[577] many exceptions, but on the whole public opinion demands generosity and kindness only towards human members of the group. The moral code is not concerned with animals.

105 182 [626] of their omnipresence; the guiding force of public opinion is seen as a check on individual licence, fostered or inculcated by the ties which hold together ancestral families and make it impossible for a man to lead an isolated life where others will not be affected by his actions. If the white man is willing to receive new ideas, he will learn much from the comments of the Bella Coola on his own customs. Many have been to [556] Victoria or Vancouver, and they feel that the contrasts of wealth observable in such big cities are atrocious; they ask how this is compatible with Christianity. [602] They feel that it is unnatural for a man not to receive support from his cousins of [556] all degrees; that the hoarding of wealth for the mere gratification of personal desires is selfish; that the selling of land is extraordinary; and that failure to ascribe every incident to supernatural causes is sacrilegious. These differences of viewpoint on so many matters explain the first impression of strangeness. A careful investigator comes to realize that he is among a people who fundamentally differ but slightly from his compatriots, though outwardly they have little in common. With respect to love, ambition, parental affection, sense of honour, pride, intelligence, even humour and vanity, the Bella Coola are essentially similar to ourselves. Unfortunately, these characteristics are expressed in ways unintelligible and often repellant to the casual traveller. If he will only look beneath the surface, he will find a people who are neither saints nor sinners, but essentially human, with the faults and follies as well as the elements of strength and wisdom which comprise, as Kipling puts it, "Men in a world of men."

177 [161] [361] The coming of the white civilization has been cataclysmic to the Bella Coola. Within two generations they have been reduced to a mere handful; instead of living in scattered villages, roaming the mountains for game and fishing at will, they now dwell in a single settlement and the taking of animals and fish is subject to law; the introduction of metal tools and mechanical appliances has revolutionised their mode of life; new foods, new clothing, new furniture has altered their living conditions; fermented drink has presented a factor unknown

to their forefathers. Profound as these material changes have been, those of a psychological nature have been even more important. New worlds have been thrown open to them, stimulating ideas have been brought to their attention, and they have realized for the first time that the world is infinitely larger than they had imagined. Hand in hand with this extension of knowledge has gone disbelief in their own ancient lore. The white man, whose superiority and mechanical skill they admit, positively denies the actuality of their mythology, and laughs at the dramatic performances which were wont to fill the winter with engrossing interest. Such rites can flourish only in an attitude of profound belief; this has been so shaken that the dances continue listlessly, a mere shadow of a once living art. The young people were the first to embrace a scepticism that has rapidly grown into disbelief of the faith of their ancestors, and a half-concealed scorn for their elders, the upholders of the old customs. Worst of all, prohibition of the potlatch has made it impossible for a man to reach a position of social eminence. Moreover, since the holding of any type of ceremonial requires a distribution of gifts, formal gatherings of all kinds have become virtually impossible; even marriages have no longer the social support that formerly made them so lasting.

177 [771] [796] [771] [561] [556] [431] [581]

These cumulative blows would be enough to shake any civilization, and that of the Bella Coola has been entirely unable to adjust itself to the new conditions. The young people, having lost respect for their elders, are deprived of the advice and support essential to the continuity of culture. They ape the white man's dress; they want his mechanical devices, but have failed to assimilate them. For example, a gramophone in a Bella Coola house is an anachronism, while several similar articles spoil the old picture but do not provide a new one. Seeking to copy the new ways thrown open to them, they have achieved the outward show but not the substance, and in so doing have destroyed their own culture. In the old days they were ambitious to hold potlatches and willing to work steadily towards that goal; now, new desires have not kept pace with

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177 182 their earning ability and a man can satisfy his wants by working for a few months each summer. The decline of ceremonials has left a blank in their lives, one easily filled, alas, with drinking, idleness, and vice. It is inevitable that the old rites and old ambitions should pass, but the prohibition of these before new ones had taken their place, has been disastrous. The Bella Coola have lost their pride, a calamity as fatal to a people as to an individual.

They have shown undoubted ability in developing such of their own talents as fit the needs and requirements of the white man. Expert carpenters for generations, they have readily [322] learnt the use of new tools and now build houses and boats of considerable constructional skill. They have proved them- [464] selves valuable employees of the canneries which rely to a large extent upon Indian labour. Under instruction from a [533] white teacher, a number of the younger men have formed a band which gives creditable performances with wind and percussion instruments. One can only deplore the fact that the skill of the Bella Coola in carving, painting, acting, singing, composing, and story-telling could not have been guided into channels where it would have developed and added lustre to the new world in which they find themselves.

The white man's civilization presses forward as an overwhelming flood, blotting out the cultures of lesser peoples in all parts of the world. This is inevitable, probably it is well that it should be so, but it offers little consolation to a tribe like the Bella Coola. Their life has been destroyed; and, wonderingly, half-proudly, half-plaintively, the survivors watch the downfall of all that their ancestors cherished. Too often the white man fails to understand this; too often he fails to realize that progress, as he sees it, is wiping out valuable elements of civilizations other than his own instead of seeking the good in them and preserving it for the benefit of himself and the native alike. The Bella Coola culture is dying, and with it will pass forever something created by a Canadian people, not great perhaps, but ineffably stamped with their personality.

501 of the older people remember seeing in their youth another type, [illegible], with a high raised prow; this may have been identical with the model which others describe as having an elevated bow and a low stern. An [225] entirely different craft was the [illegible], named from one of the geese, probably the white-fronted goose. A strip of maple fastened along each side caught the water in moving, with a sound like that of the peculiar rustling flight of the bird. The bow was often carved in the form of a [531] bird's head and the stern in that of a tail to further the resemblance. No living Bella Coola claims to have seen one of these canoes, though some had heard of them from their grandparents. The large, open type of canoe made by the Haida was known to the Bella Coola, but not constructed by them. Sails were used on all ocean-going canoes; they were usually of matting, though skins sewn together were occasionally employed.

501 536 Canoes are occasionally lashed together. In several dances a wide platform for dancing is required, and the need is met by lashing planks crosswise over two canoes, near the bow and stern, thus fastening them together. Planking is laid on the two supports and a platform so constructed. Careful inquiries showed that this fastening was merely a temporary arrangement; the beams were not lashed in any particular manner, nor was there any fixed distance between the craft. Sometimes 501 [171] the same expedient was used for transport when the load was too heavy for two canoes separately, a device which is said to have been used more commonly by the tribes of the outer coast than the Bella Coola. Canoes lashed together are termed [illegible].

Rafts, [illegible], consisting of rough logs fastened together with cross-pieces, were commonly used on the lakes of the interior, and occasionally for river work when canoes were unavailable and there was no time to make them. Another expedient in similar emergencies was to [177] make bark canoes, such as are still constructed by the Carriers. The Bella Coola regard the construction of these as definite copying, and do not profess to have as much skill as their teachers whose canoes, it is said, can be folded for portaging. There is a tradition that, many generations ago, a few clever Bella Coola knew how to make skin canoes.

THE PREPARATION OF CEDAR-BARK

314 [221] [462] [412] Early spring is the time to [illegible], that is, to gather the inner bark of the cedar. Men occasionally assist in the task, though this is really woman's work. The worker selects a small cedar, choosing one about six inches in diameter, with smooth trunk and relatively free from knots. With a knife she makes a horizontal incision in the bark, two or three feet from the ground, sometimes girdling the sapling. Then she inserts her

thrown in, and hot stones fitted in to heat the mixture. Even at the present time this is never made on a stove, as it is thought that the gradual heating by means of stones is essential. As it becomes warm, the woman thoroughly stirs the ingredients with her hands, then, when it boils, some of the bark is lifted out and more added. This process is continued until the liquid is deep red in colour. It is allowed to stand for a few minutes before the prepared cedar-bark is placed in it. The operator gently works it around until it is saturated, then lifts it out and hangs it up to dry. Several pieces of bark can be dyed in one solution, though it is necessary to add more alder-bark and more stones to maintain the proper strength and heat.

Although red cedar-bark is the kind most commonly used, the Bella Coola sometimes use the yellow cedar for neck and headbands, as [illegible] from the Bella Bella.

THE MANUFACTURE OF PAINT

Paint, such as was used both for decorating the body and for painting designs on wood, was obtained from a kind of rock found near the head of a creek entering the Bella Coola from the south near [illegible]. Fragments of the red stone were broken off, thrown into a vessel containing water, and brought to a boil by the insertion of hot stones. Under the action of heat the rock became soft so that the manufacturer was able to pulverize it and run off the semi-liquid mixture into a small box. He would then chew cedar-bark and salmon roe, and spit into the paint, thoroughly mixing the saliva with it. When dry, the mixture was ready for use, and could be kept indefinitely.

Anyone could paint who had the artistic skill, and it was chiefly artisans who used to make this kind of paint. Since the introduction of the white man's brilliant colours, there has been no demand for the duller native shade, and the making of paint has been discontinued.

[illegible] Smith. 1-5 (1920-1923) 1923
[illegible] Bellacoola [illegible]

SYMPATHETIC MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT AMONG THE BELLACOOLA

By HARLAN I. SMITH

Many of the Bellacoola Indians today believe in sympathetic magic and witchcraft, after over a hundred years of contact with white men. Most of them live within hearing of the bells of the mission church, and the government school. Not a few of the men take logging contracts; some of them build and operate motor boats; many of them join the fishing fleets of the salmon canneries; most of the women work in the canneries; and all deal at the white men's stores.

The Bellacoola lived at the heads of the long inlets half way up the Pacific Coast of Canada and in the tributary Bella Coola valley. Now, numbering perhaps two hundred and fifty, they, with the exception of a few families, are concentrated on one reservation at the mouth of the Bella Coola river. The Bella Coola valley has been called the Norway of Canada. This was where Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to cross Canada overland, reached the sea.

Aboriginally, the Bellacoola were of the North Pacific Coast culture of America, which is characterized by the extensive use of red cedar and sea products, particularly salmon, the making of graceful, sea-going canoes, each hewn from a single cedar, the erection of large rectangular houses made of cedar planks, with carved house posts and totem poles, lack of pottery, and expertness in carpenter work, carving, and painting. This culture belongs to the barefoot area, but the Bellacoolas wore moccasins to a certain extent. The art of the area was that best known from the paintings and carvings of the totem poles, largely of conventionalized animal forms. The life centred around a very highly developed social organization, an extensive and powerful financial system, and property rights to names, rituals and honors. The Bellacoola language is one of the Salish linguistic stock. They

[illegible]

COMPOSITAE, COMPOSITE FAMILY

Achillea millefolium L., Yarrow

Bella Coola: Leaves chewed and applied to burns.

Southern Carrier: Entire plant, except the roots, boiled, and the decoction taken internally at frequent intervals for colds.

Leaves chewed and applied to sprains and swellings.

Gitksan: The young plant, except the roots, gathered between June 1 and July 15, boiled, and the decoction gargled for sore throat. Roots, marked by the dead stalks, dug out at other seasons and used instead.

[illegible]

Artemisia discolor Dougl., Sagebrush, Common Wormwood

Bella Coola: Used for medicine.

Southern Carrier: Chewed and applied to sprains and swellings.

Northern Carrier: Sagebrush (sp. ?) steeped in water and the hot decoction taken internally for headache.

[illegible]

Antennaria Howellii Greene, Everlasting

Bella Coola: Leaves boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pains in the body, but not for pains in the limbs. Not used for colds.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

[illegible]

Taraxacum officinale Weber, Common Dandelion introduced

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea or vomiting. Remedy said to have been learned from white men.

Gitksan: Not used.

Lactuca spicata (Lam.) Hitchc., Tall Lettuce

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, and many cups of the decoction taken internally for heart trouble, haemorrhage, pains in the body (but not in the limbs), for vomiting, or for diarrhoea. Neither an emetic nor a purgative. Milky juice not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

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Prenanthes alata (Hook.) Gray, Rattlesnake Root

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, two or three cupfuls of the decoction taken internally daily for colds. For a baby only a small spoonful given three or four times a day.

Bella Coola: Chewed, and applied to burns or to any painful part of the body.

[952]

Boiled, and two or three cupfuls of the decoction taken internally daily.

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Mnium affine Bland, Moss

Southern Carrier: Entire plant, except the "roots", boiled, and two or three cupfuls of the decoction used to bathe a swollen face.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[pp. 426-444 not [illegible]]

words of Kwakiutl derivation will become clear by a glance at the following list, which contains words that can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin:—

[illegible]

With these names and customs the clan traditions must have found their way to the Bella Coola, but their social organization differed fundamentally from that of the Bella Bella branch of the Kwakiutl. While the latter, owing to intimate contact with the northern tribes, had adopted the four-clan system with prevalent maternal descent, the Bella Coola were still distinctly divided into village communities that were not exogamic. It seems very likely that the jealousy with which the ownership of a clan tradition was guarded by the Coast tribes was very early introduced among the Bella Coola. Two means were available for preventing outsiders from acquiring the tradition. Among the Coast tribes with prevailing maternal institutions, among whom a limited number of clans existed, the ordinary law of inheritance was sufficient to retain the tradition inside of the clan. Not so among the Bella Coola. If their organization at an early time was similar to that of the Coast Salish, it is likely that the child was counted as well a member of the father's as of the mother's family, although the young spouse generally moved to the village occupied by her husband. If the child belonged to the families of both parents, it had the right to use the tradition of either family; and consequently in the course of a few generations, the traditions acquired by each family would have spread practically over the whole tribe. There were only two methods possible to avoid this result. The one was to prevent marriages outside the village community; and this method would seem to have been most natural for a tribe organized in village communities, members of which were allowed to intermarry. The other method would have been to regulate the laws of inheritance in such a way that the child had to

contradiction is inherent in all the mythologies of the North Pacific coast; they nowhere reach such a degree as among the Bella Coola; and I presume the fact that the traditions are kept secret by the various families accounts for this curious condition.

The prayers of the Bella Coola directed to Snoo or Tâtau have a remarkable resemblance to the prayers of the Tsimshian addressed to Laxha, the sky. In both tribes we find the idea that when the Sun wipes his face it will be clear weather, and man will be happy; consequently the prayer to the deity "to wipe his face" occurs quite often.

One of the most important customs that the Bella Coola borrowed from the Coast tribes is the winter ceremonial, with which are connected the various secret societies, particularly the custom of ceremonial cannibalism. The ceremonies and the paraphernalia used by the Bella Coola and by the Kwakiutl are practically identical. I told above (p. 44) the legend explaining the origin of cannibalism. Among the Bella Bella and Kwakiutl, another tradition is told to explain the origin of this custom. The tradition tells of a spirit called BaxbakuālanuXsī'wae, who lives in the woods, and who initiates the members of the Cannibal Society. The series of traditions clustering around this being differ fundamentally from those referring to the Cannibal Society of the Bella Coola. The custom has also spread to the Tsimshian, who say that the secret societies were introduced by a hunter who was taken into the inside of a cliff by a white bear. Inside he saw a house, in which the various societies were performing their ceremonies. It appears, therefore, that the same ritual which is practised by these distinct tribes is explained by three fundamentally distinct myths; and we must conclude that in this case the ritual is older than the myth,—that the latter has been invented in order to explain customs that were borrowed from foreign tribes, so that the ritual is the primary phenomenon, while the myth is secondary.[1]

These considerations explain some of the psychological motives for the development of certain traditions and myths, as well as the curious inconsistency of the clan traditions of the Bella Coola. They do not, however, explain the most fundamental characteristic of the traditions of the tribe. I pointed out in the third chapter of this paper, that, notwithstanding the numerous contradictions contained in family legends, the conception of the world and the functions of the various deities are so well defined that we must consider the mythology of this tribe vastly superior to that of the neighboring tribes. While the latter believe in a great many spirits which are not co-ordinated, we have here a system of deities. The existence of a systematic mythology among the Bella Coola proves that under favorable conditions the advance from the lower forms of beliefs to higher forms may be a very rapid one.

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[1] See Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 660 ff.

Our analysis shows that the system cannot be considered as an importation, but that it probably developed among the Bella Coola themselves. When they removed to their new home, a mass of foreign ideas had come into their possession through contact with their new neighbors. While their own ideas were being remodelled and assimilated they stimulated the minds of the people, or of a few members of the tribe, who were thus led to the formation of an elaborate concept of the world. The concept which they have developed agrees in all its main features with those created by men of other races and of other times. The mind of the Bella Coola philosopher, operating with the class of knowledge common to the earlier stages of culture, has reached conclusions similar to those that have been formed by man the world over, when operating with the same class of knowledge. On the other hand, the Bella Coola has also adopted unhesitatingly the thoughts of his neighbors, and has adapted them to his environment. These two results of our inquiry emphasize the close relation between the comparative and the historic methods of ethnology, which are so often held to be antagonistic. Each is a check upon rash conclusions that might be attained by the application of one alone. It is just as uncritical to see, in an analogy of a single trait of culture that occurs in two distinct regions, undoubted proof of early historical connection as to reject the possibility of such connection, because sometimes the same ideas develop independently in the human mind. Ethnology is rapidly outgrowing the tendency to accept imperfect evidence as proof of historical connection; but the comparative ethnologist is hardly beginning to see that he has no right to scoff at the historical method. Our inquiry shows that safe conclusions can be derived only by a careful analysis of the whole culture. The growth of the myths of the Bella Coola can be understood only when we consider the culture of the tribe as a whole. And so it is with other phenomena. All traits of culture can be fully understood only in connection with the whole culture of a tribe. When we confine ourselves to comparing isolated traits of culture, we open the door to misinterpretations without number.

If, then, the demand is made for a more critical method in the comparative study of ethnology than it has generally been accorded, it does not imply a depreciation of the results of the method. When the human mind evolves an idea, or when it borrows the same idea, we may assume that it has been evolved or accepted because it conforms with the organization of the human mind; else it would not be evolved or accepted. The wider the distribution of an idea, original or borrowed, the closer must be its conformity with the laws governing the activities of the human mind. Historical analysis will furnish the data referring to the growth of ideas among different people; and comparisons of the processes of their growth will give us knowledge of the laws which govern the evolution and selection of ideas.